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*A Discussion*

DR. JOHN HUMPHREYS

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*An Historical Appreciation*

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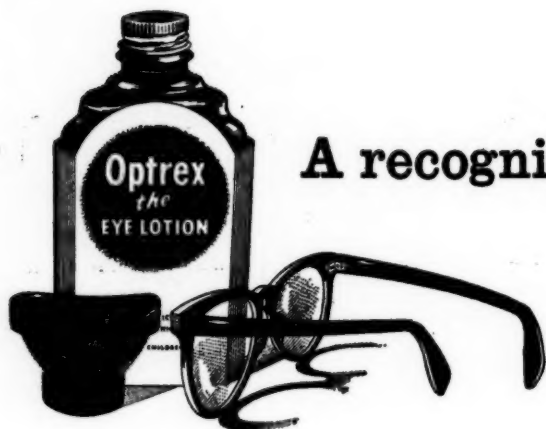
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# THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

## *An Historical Appreciation*

By

V. A. McCLELLAND

**H**ISTORICALLY, Scotland has close ties with Ireland: it was the latter that had given her her name, her ancient kings, her old nobility, her religion, her language and most of her early literature. But historical affinities so often point the way to historical hatreds. It will be recalled that the Plantation of Ulster had been effected by Lowland Scots and that this had left a long tradition of ill-feeling among the Irish. As early as 1694 this ill-feeling is illustrated by the fact that the first Vicar Apostolic appointed for Scotland—Thomas Nicholson, Bishop of Peristachium—had to appoint two Vicars General in the Highlands, one for the native and one for the Irish clergy.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Scotland received a steady stream of Irish immigrants of both the educated and the pauper classes. A large proportion of the educated classes were Catholics who, deprived by their bishops from obtaining a University degree at Trinity College, Dublin, hoped to do so at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. After the failure of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and again after the Napoleonic Wars, the Irish immigration into Scotland became more intense. The 1841 census gave a total of 126,321 out of a total population for the country of 2,620,184 (*i.e.* 4.8 per cent of the population). But these figures take no account of Scottish-born children of one or two Irish parents. The Irish soon became intermingled with the native Scots and Irishmen frequently married Scots women (although the converse was more rare). Unlike the nature of the Irish immigration into England with its preponderance of Catholics, the immigration into Scotland contained a

high proportion of Protestants from Northern Ireland. It was in the Western District of Scotland that problems became most acute.

The Catholic Church in Scotland since the Reformation had had a very chequered history. From the death in exile in 1603 of James Betoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, no separate provision was made for the ecclesiastical government of the Roman Catholics in Scotland until 1629, when a Fr. William Ogilvie was appointed Prefect of the Mission. Ogilvie was not, however, a bishop. From 1631 to 1634 the Bishop of Down and Connor ruled the Mission and then until 1648 (and after an abortive attempt to restore the Bishopric of the Isles) Prefects ruled the Mission. From 1648 until 1653 the Mission was without a Superior at all. In 1653 the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed. Prefects ruled the Mission until 1694, when Thomas Joseph Nicholson was named Vicar Apostolic and the Church got her first resident bishop in Scotland for a hundred and thirty-four years. Vicars Apostolic remained until the restoration of the hierarchy in 1878.

The Vicars Apostolic were all drawn from native Scotsmen and a large number of them from old Highland, land-owning families who had kept the Faith. They had little money and practically no men. Money and men were the two really urgent problems when the stream of immigrants turned into a veritable flood following on the great Irish famines.

The difference between the two sections of the Catholic Church in Scotland was very pronounced. The Scots were very quiet, reserved and unemotional and from their long contact with Presbyterianism had imbibed many of its qualities. There was also an element of Jansenism in their outlook, resembling in this the Scots College at Paris. On the other hand, the Irish were exuberant, forthright in their views, emotional and strongly ultramontane. In view of these differences of temperament the races cannot be said to have blended easily in Scotland. As early as 1786, the Scottish bishops were looking askance at the action of some of their Irish priests, and when they asked Rome for more priests declared "that they did not much like the Irish."<sup>1</sup> But a distinguished historian in the early part of this century gave a more serious reason for the anti-Irish attitude of the Scots bishops; he claimed that they were bribed by the British Govern-

<sup>1</sup> J. F. S. Gordon, *Ecclesiastical Chronicle for Scotland*, Vol. IV, p. 263.

ment, unknown to their clergy or laity, to keep in order the political aspirations of the Irish. "The bribes," he asserted "were given in 1798—£600 down, a promised yearly allowance of £50 to the two R.C. Seminaries, as well as a sum sufficient to make up the salaries of the priests to £20; in addition each of the Vicars Apostolic were to get £100 a year and their coadjutors were to get £50 a year."<sup>1</sup> It is very likely that such a grant would have been discontinued after 1805.

But whatever may have been the true reason for the antagonism of the Scottish Vicars Apostolic to their Irish charges, whether of temperament or of bribery, the fact remains that such antagonism did exist. As one might expect, the troubles reached a terrifying intensity in the Western District of Scotland and in particular in Glasgow, where the largest number of Catholic Irish had settled.

In 1832 Andrew Scott succeeded as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District and it was during his rule that the situation developed into a grave scandal and the Irish were goaded into open revolt. Scott, educated at Douai and Aberdeen, had shown his antagonism to the Irish before his appointment and he retained it afterwards. He protested to the Commissioners of the Poor Law Inquiry of 1844 that the Irish were too national in their ideas, and no shamrock was permitted to appear near the thistle on his new Church of St. Mary, Glasgow—although this church was largely paid for by the contributions of his Irish flock. Scott had already attacked O'Connell publicly and he exhorted his people to vote for the Tory candidate at the voting for the Reform Parliament. Week after week the Irish had to listen to his pulpit-denunciations and the scorn he poured on their origin and lack of knowledge, which was delivered in the most pronounced of Scottish accents. After Scott's appointment to the district it was not long before the Press began attacking him for his intolerance. These literary attacks reached their zenith when it was reported that at a meeting in Glasgow for the formation of a Catholic Orphanage the bishop had invoked the aid of the police when the Irish faction seemed about to carry their proposals. He had even opposed the opening of a Catholic library for the Irish in Glasgow. The city sighed with relief when in 1836 Scott announced his retirement, and all might yet have been

<sup>1</sup> T. Johnston, *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland* (Forward Publishing Co. Ltd., Glasgow, 1929) Second Edition, p. 235.

well if a more temperate successor could be found. But Scott was succeeded by his coadjutor and former curate, John Murdoch. Although Murdoch was much less vitriolic than his predecessor he began his reign by alienating the Irish with a strong denunciation of Ribbonism; soon other complaints were heard. Among these latter was the oft-repeated charge that he appointed young Scots curates to the most prosperous missions and that the Irish priests who had built up these centres were then ordered into other pioneering areas. Many of the clergy appointed to the prosperous livings were related to the bishop by blood.

Protests against Murdoch's discrimination flowed to *The Glasgow Free Press*, the bishop himself, and to Rome, and they reached their zenith in 1861 when Dr. Alexander Smith, Murdoch's coadjutor, died. The Irish at once clamoured for the appointment of an Irish coadjutor to break the line of Scots bishops and give representation to their interests in the counsels of the Vicars. If Murdoch was sincere in his denials of discrimination, they held, let him prove it in this way. But while the decision was pending the Irish faction, through the medium of *The Glasgow Free Press*, in January 1862 put forward the idea of restoring the Scottish hierarchy. If the hierarchy was restored the names from which the Pope would select his bishops would be chosen by the clergy, and the episcopacy would be less in danger of always falling to one family or class. The three Scottish Vicars Apostolic at once condemned the proposal—the Irish clergy outnumbered the Scots. *The Glasgow Free Press* allowed its columns to be open at this time to the bickering of two priests, Frs. Lavelle and McNab, and eventually Bishop Murdoch had to get an injunction against the paper and its editor, Keane. But the paper still continued to flourish.

The protests and appeals of the Irish were all to no avail, for in October 1862 a Scotsman, John Gray, was appointed as Murdoch's coadjutor with the right of succession, and what made matters far worse was that he was a nephew of the late Bishop Andrew Scott. The old family principle had been followed once again! In December 1865, Murdoch died and Gray succeeded.

On Gray's appointment, Rome at once took a hand in trying to solve the acute problems in Glasgow. The Holy Father named an Irish Lazarist, James Lynch, as Gray's coadjutor with the right of succession. The Irish were jubilant at the thought that they



would eventually have an Irish bishop in the Vicariate, but their jubilation was short lived. Bishop Gray refused to live in the same house as Lynch and he would not allow him a share in the work. All the administrative work that should have been allotted to Lynch, Gray transferred to a Scottish curate of his, Fr. Alexander Munro. Relations between the two prelates went from bad to worse and Lynch was branded as a Fenian. Complaints were pouring into Rome from both sides. It was at this point that Rome turned for help, as she had done so many times already, to Archbishop Manning of Westminster. His action in settling this dispute reveals more clearly than any other episode of his career his power of perception and his diplomacy, his administrative ability and his strength of character. He was able to supply the Church in Scotland with the ecclesiastical polity she so evidently lacked.

In 1867 Manning, barely eighteen months Archbishop of Westminster, was sent by Pius IX to Glasgow, with the style and title of Apostolic Visitor to investigate the situation, to root out causes and to suggest remedies. Manning had great experience in the working of various Royal Commissions, and it was in the style of these that he began his work in Glasgow; he called witnesses before him and their depositions were taken down. Manning's voluminous report was then forwarded to Rome.

This report has not yet received adequate notice from nineteenth-century Catholic historians for it is still bound by the 100-year rule governing the archives of Propaganda. As far as can be ascertained only Canon Bellesheim has seen the report, and he did so before the imposition of the present time-limit. He gave a very sketchy account of its contents in Volume IV of his *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*,<sup>1</sup> and from his account it is obvious that Manning's report was unfavourable to the bishops. He complained that the clergy were left without adequate directives and regulations and that the ecclesiastical government was weak. After recounting the woes of the Glasgow Vicariate, Manning recommended (a) the removal of Bishop Lynch whose presence was such a bone of contention and (b) the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy. Finally, and most important of all, Manning advised the removal of Bishop Gray. In this way, he contended, the path would be cleared for the appointment of an

<sup>1</sup> Translated by D. O. Hunter Blair: Blackwood, MDCCXC: pp. 251 *et seq.*

able and efficient prelate who would be competent and authorised to reconcile the warring factions.

In recommending the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy Manning was only following the line of policy mapped out by Wiseman, who as early as 1864 had written to Rome on this very point and suggested as the first step towards the hierarchy that the Vicars Apostolic should be increased. The institution of proper episcopal rule would, he believed, remove the "presbyterian" attitude of the priests towards their bishops.

The Scottish Vicars were against the restoration of the hierarchy on a number of grounds. The chief of these was that the Scottish Catholics were few in number and scattered, while the Irish were frequently wandering and had no fixed domicile; that many of the Irish left the country after a while and returned home; that the country could not support a hierarchy on financial grounds; that the introduction of independent bishops would weaken the tie with Rome instead of strengthening it; that there would be a renewal of anti-Catholic feeling; that there would be difficulties with the law on the assumption of territorial titles. But those in favour of the restoration argued that the Church of Scotland was losing the service of many influential converts who would rather work in England where there was a regularly constituted ecclesiastical polity, and that such an action was necessary for the Irish who needed such a diocesan and parochial organisation to keep them loyal.

The noble families in Scotland played little part in this question, unlike their counterparts in England had done. The Dukes of Gordon, Earls of Nithsdale, Wintoun, Linlithgow, and Callender, Lord Herries, Earl of Perth, Lord Lovat and many others had been Protestant for many years. The only two noble families in Scotland that remained loyal to the Roman Faith (and were so in 1850) were Stuart, Earl of Traquair, Peeblesshire, and Radcliffe Livingstone, Earl of Newburgh. The latter family had chiefly resided in England. Many of the old Highland families had preserved the Faith in the glens, but these had little influence beyond their own terrain. Apart from one or two convert duchesses in the 1850's, the noble families had little influence on the development of Scottish Catholicism.

The first positive result of Manning's report to Propaganda of 1868 was that *The Glasgow Free Press* was condemned by Rome



and forced to close down. The paper had been the root cause of much Scots-Irish enmity by its virulent attacks on the Vicars Apostolic. In its last issue it condemned Manning for his report, accusing him of not being impartial in his receiving of evidence and pouring scorn on his convert ancestry. This action by Rome was soon followed by the removal of Dr. Lynch to the Irish See of Kildare and Leighlin as coadjutor, and Bishop Gray was asked to resign. Almost the whole of Manning's recommendations were thus put into effect. Fortunately for the advocates of a hierarchy, Bishop James Francis Kyle, Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District of Scotland, died in 1869. Thus the way was left clear for the new changes. Only one of the old Vicars Apostolic remained, John Strain of the Eastern District, and he was a more amenable prelate, later becoming first Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh in the restored hierarchy.

*Firmness* was, Manning felt, the essential requisite for any prelate requested to carry out the Restoration. Writing to Ullathorne on 17 February 1869, he declared: "The Glasgow affair may teach us a lesson. Unless we are firm we shall have a demand for an Irish bishop in Liverpool, some day."<sup>1</sup> It was this quality of firmness that he at first thought of in the discarded coadjutor of Westminster, Dr. Errington. The Archbishop of Trebizond had many qualities that Manning admired and the chief of these was that he was a strong prelate; indeed it was his intransigence that had caused the rift with Wiseman and made Pio Nono exasperated with him. Manning knew that Errington was not likely to fall into the hands of either a Scottish or Irish clique. The story of that attempt has already been told, and in its telling the motives for Errington's rejection of the office (and the part played in the negotiations by Dr. Clifford of Clifton) reflect little credit on the chief opponents of the offer.<sup>2</sup> In the event the appointment went to Charles Eyre, Vicar General of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, a man who proved himself to be more than equal to the difficult task that faced him. Manning had early recognised the merit in the man, and in 1866 had recommended him for the vacant Archbishopric of Sydney,

<sup>1</sup> Manning Papers, Bayswater, M. to U., 17 February 1869.

<sup>2</sup> See my article in the autumn issue of the *Innes Review*, 1957, for a full discussion of this problem, based on material recently found among the Errington Papers.

declaring that he thought he was a true priest. Eyre was appointed Administrator of the Western District of Scotland and Delegate Apostolic for Scotland with a commission to prepare the country for the restoration of the hierarchy. He was appointed titular Archbishop of Anizarba in the first instance and on 31 January 1869, Archbishop Manning was one of his co-consecrators.

Eyre spent ten years in pacifying the Western District and in preparing for the restoration, and at last the hierarchy was re-established by the Bull *Ex Supremo Apostolatus Apice*, 4 March 1878 of Leo XIII. In the actual framing of the Bull and its contents, Manning had a great share.

In September 1877 Archbishop Eyre and Bishop Strain were summoned to Rome to help Propaganda to draw up the Bull and the framework of the new polity, and in December, Cardinal Manning was summoned to Rome for a similar reason. The real difficulty was concerning the Metropolitan See. Manning favoured Glasgow, Strain wanted Edinburgh and Eyre was indifferent. The outcome was a compromise in that St. Andrews was to be joined to Edinburgh and thus become the Metropolitan See while Glasgow was to be raised to an independent Archbishopric subject directly to Rome and not to the Metropolitan See. Strain was appointed to the latter, while Eyre became first Archbishop of Glasgow. Four suffragan sees were given to Strain and this was the first great blunder. Four sees were too many. A diocese was needed in Aberdeen but Dunkeld contained practically the whole of its Catholics in one city. Argyll and the Isles was simply a Missionary District (as it is to-day), and Galloway was an impossible stretch of territory for administration. In appointing the bishops to these new sees, Manning played a large part. The remaining Vicar Apostolic, John Macdonald, was appointed to Aberdeen. John McLachlan was appointed to Galloway; he was of an old Highland family and was Eyre's Vicar General. He had strong connections and it was not long before he was able to persuade Bute to make large grants towards the development of his diocese. George Rigg was appointed to Dunkeld and Angus MacDonald (one of the famous Borrowdale clan) was appointed to Argyll and the Isles. Although events have proved that the Restoration was not premature, time has shown that it would have been better to have had fewer dioceses. The most interesting thing about the manner of the Restoration

is that the new Scottish dioceses were in no way subject to English ecclesiastical authority. The failure of Russell's Bill of 1850-1851 against the assumption of territorial titles by the English bishops militated in favour of the new Scots bishops.

## DAME EDITH SITWELL AND THE TRANSATLANTIC MUSE

By

DEREK STANFORD

**B**EFORE 1914 the English man of letters often regarded the American author as something of a country cousin. Suppose, for example, it was Whitman he was reading. Well then, the poet's strength might be explained as a direct inheritance from the Anglican Authorised Version, while his weakness—his "barbaric yawp"—might be set down as a Yankee excrescence. Or say it was Longfellow he was assessing. In that case, the poet's European metric sense, his adaptation, for instance, of a Finnish rhythm to the tale of Hiawatha, would go unnoticed, while what would be stressed would be a certain sentimental feeling. The social and verbal superiority-complex which viewed things thus is fast being liquidated. It is only the uncultivated Englishman to-day who looks upon the United States as an unlettered culture.

Poets, novelists, critics, and professors pass back and forth across the Atlantic. Chairs of American Literature are becoming a feature of our universities, and all whose study is the English tongue have to reckon with the American contribution. In poetry, particularly, we are witnessing the creation of an Anglo-American Muse. The English critic, whose special field is contemporary verse, will tend to allot half his space to modern American talent. After he has studied Eliot and Fry, Graves and Empson, Thomas and Muir, the next with a call upon his attention

will obviously be American figures: Pound and Tate, Ransom and Stevens, Moore and Lowell, Frost and Roethke.

It is the American critic who has worked hardest at the job of delineating the Transatlantic Muse. The writings of Cleanth Brooks, Allen Tate, and Yvor Winters—to name but three—have been concerned with this, in a way in which English critical writing has not. The result of their work has been to establish a shadowy notion of the ideal modern poem, the poem, that is, written in the English tongue. Setting together a number of hints, we can see the desired composition as something possessed of irony, paradox, wit, elegance, and imaginative logic—as a form of art which contains contrarities within a firm structure. These properties we have come to think of as those which mark the classical in art, as that expression has recently been defined. From T. S. Eliot to Allen Tate, poetry on both sides of the Atlantic has been subjected to classical propaganda as well as to a general denigration of the romantic in theory and practice. One can object that to talk in terms of these labels is meaningless, but the fact remains that though we find it hard to define the classical-romantic opposition, the words still approximate to enduring antinomies. In this context, we can think of them as describing types of artistic form arrived at by different processes. The classical, then, we can say stands for *constructional* form thought of after an architectural fashion. The romantic, on the other hand, posits a form whose principle is *organic*, and whose process of growth is best understood on a biological basis.

Two English poets have steadfastly defended the romantic point of view in Anglo-American verse: Sir Herbert Read,<sup>1</sup> who has worked through overt apologetics, and Dame Edith Sitwell, who has made her contribution as an anthologist. Her two collections, *The American Genius* (1951) and *The Atlantic Book of British and American Verse* (1959) are arsenals of the romantic spirit, stocked with a pick of its most shining weapons. It is in the first of these, *The American Genius*, that Dame Edith establishes a parallel central to her argument. This she finds in a certain kinship existing between Blake and Whitman. The former's element, she tells us, was Air, while the latter's element was Earth. "Blake," she wrote, "transfigured all matter with light, whereas Whitman

<sup>1</sup> See, above all, his book *The True Voice of Feeling: Studies in English Romantic Poetry* (1953), which contains essays on Whitman and Pound.

saw the density of matter, and the glory of gold lying in the darkness of matter." This was their near-resemblance and distinction, but where they were most like was in the fact that "both were Pentecostal Poets. The Tongues of Fire had descended upon them." It would be tempting, with this clue in hand, to go on and suppose that Dame Edith was campaigning for "poets of vision" as against "poets of craft." Her own interest in Pope, however, and the mode of criticism she has made her own—an interpretation of vowel and consonant play—should warn us off this plausible inference. What she means by a "Pentecostal Poet" or a poet of vision she makes clearer as she proceeds. Here, it is enough to distinguish this figure from the poet of manners, the poet of fashion, the poet of the topical or the contemporary. This she stresses in a comment upon the Preface to *Leaves of Grass*:

All great poets [she writes] of the last two centuries have at one time or another produced a theory about poetry which is dangerous to lesser poets, and to poets of a different nature.

Whitman is no exception.

"The direct trial of him who would be the greatest poet is to-day. If he does not flood himself with the immediate age as with vast oceanic tides—if he be not himself the age transfigur'd, and if to him is not open'd the eternity which gives similitude to all periods and locations and processes, and animate and inanimate forms, and which is the bond of time" . . . (the eternity which) "commits itself to the representation of this wave of an hour, and this one of the sixty beautiful children of the wave—let him merge in the general run and wait his development . . ."

. . . The phrase, "if to him is not open'd the eternity which gives similitude to all periods and locations and processes, and animate and inanimate forms, and which is the bond of time" is highly valuable. But the rest, though right for the transcendently great poet who wrote it, is not right for every poet—even for the great poet. It is certainly never right for the small poet under any circumstances.

The metaphysic, or metabiology, to borrow a term from Middleton Murry, which underlines Dame Edith's poetic is taken from the prose of Blake and Whitman, especially from the former's *Proverbs of Heaven and Hell*. The idioms which these employ wear the look of heresy, being themselves based upon a partial misreading of Scripture. The essence of their thought,



however, is pan-Christian and strongly in accordance with the discoveries of psycho-somatic medicine.

All Bibles or sacred codes [declared Blake] have been the cause of the following errors:

1. That Man has two real existing principles: viz. a Body and a Soul.
2. That Energy call'd Evil, is alone from the Body, and that Reason, called Good, is alone from the Soul.

What Blake is attacking here is more the Albigensian view of Creation than that set forth in Scripture. According to the Cartharist creed, spirit originated from God but matter was created by the Devil. In holding this, it introduced an absolute division or schism in Creation beyond the intentions of orthodox faith. The theological implications of Blake's misreading need not trouble us further save in that he was led to posit the contrary of these propositions, namely, that "Man has no Body distinct from his Soul."

What is of importance here is the "holistic" or monistic aesthetic which may be seen to follow from this statement. In the realm of art, it means that content and form cannot be thought of separately, that a poem grows like a plant or embryo and is not put together meccano-fashion.

Whitman, making play with that difficult pair—spirit and matter—confirms this view. "When I see," he wrote in his *Notebooks*, "where the east is greater than the west . . . or a father more needful than a mother to produce me—then I guess I shall see how spirit is greater than matter." What he says is certainly true as applied to his own composition. Form and content must be thought of together.

This feeling for "one-ness" also leads to a strong sense of identity in whatever is individual. The poet is he who, in a manner, validates phenomena and does not split them further by an act of censure. "He [the greatest poet]," Whitman writes, "judges not as the judge judges, but as the sun falling around a helpless thing." This, perhaps, is also the principle of identification or empathy—the feeling into an object or situation—which Lipps took to be the essence of the aesthetic.

Dame Edith would hardly think of herself as pre-eminently philosophic, but the general ideas which she sets out in her Preface to *The American Genius* do help to explain her choice of

poems. Differing from many contemporary critics, Dame Edith believes that poetry should speak with "more than mortal speech." This, of course, sets her at odds with the sponsors of the colloquial—the defendants of the sensible and flat—but opposition has always been the salt she has taken with her meat.

Possibly the best clue to Dame Edith's principles of selection occurs in some lines by Whitman:

... I will not make a poem, nor the least part of a  
poem but has reference to the soul,  
Because having look'd at the objects of the  
universe I find there is no one nor any  
particle of one but has reference to the  
soul.

Edward Taylor is the first poet Dame Edith includes in *The American Genius*. "Taylor," she notes, "was in the English tradition, and this was natural to him, because of the time at which he was born" (the beginning of the nineteenth century). The early poets of America are not well known to English readers, and Edward Taylor, as a religious poet, is not the compeer of Jones Very, a contemporary of his, whose verse has been made known to the modern English reader by Yvor Winters.<sup>1</sup> Very is more in the line of George Herbert, but Taylor has romantic overtones rather in the manner of a later Traherne with a strong New England sense of the Fall:

When that this bird of paradise put in  
This wicker cage (my corps) to tweedle praise  
Had pecked the fruit forbid: and so did fling  
Away its food, and lost its golden days,  
It fell into celestial famine sore,  
And never could attain a morsel more.

Alas! alas! poor bird, what wilt thou do?  
This creature's field no food for souls e'er gave:  
And if thou knock at angels' doors, they show  
An empty barrel: they no soul bread have.  
Alas! poor bird, the world's white loaf is done,  
And cannot yield thee here the smallest crumb.

The good and the bad are easily offset: "they have no soul

<sup>1</sup> See his essay "Jones Very and R. W. Emerson" in the collection *In Defence of Reason* (1947).

bread here" is only one degree better than a later reference to "heaven's sugar cake;" but such trite or rococo touches are redeemed by that striking sentence: "the world's white loaf is done." Like most minor romantic poets, Taylor is rewarding and uneven.

Intensity and identity (or individuation, as Coleridge calls it) are perhaps the main notes of the romantic poet. We find the first in Poe and Dickinson, in H. D., Hart Crane, Lowell, and Villa; and the second in Gertrude Stein, Wallace Stevens, and Marianne Moore. The major poet combines both these notes, as they are combined in Whitman and Eliot and in a minor poet, Theodore Roethke, at his best.

It is the "tradition of intensity" which Dame Edith seeks in American verse. Lowell has succeeded in preserving this, when at the end of his poem *The Ghost* he has the shade of Cynthia say to her lover:<sup>1</sup>

Others can have you, Sextus, I alone  
Hold: and grind your manhood bone on bone.

Jose Garcia Villa, on the other hand, in a poem *Number 68*, may seem to be over-straining the sublime:

My most, My most. O my lost!  
O my bright, my ineradicable ghost!  
At whose bright coast God seeks  
Shelter and is lost, is lost.

In neither of her anthologies does Dame Edith include Kenneth Rexroth, sometimes thought of as the father of Californian "beatnik" poets,<sup>2</sup> but she does include a "radical romantic" highly rated during the War years by many English neo-romantic poets. *Street Corner College* by Kenneth Patchen clearly speaks with a "beatnik" voice:

We are the insulted, brother, the desolate boys.  
Sleepwalkers in a dark and terrible land,  
Where solitude is a dirty knife at our throats.  
Cold stars watch us, chum  
Cold stars and the whores.

This aims at a poetry of unself-conscious statement, but we

<sup>1</sup> The characters in the poem are the poet Sextus Propertius and his mistress.

<sup>2</sup> Neither does she include the work of its two chief representative figures, Alan Ginsberg and Gregory Corso.



may question whether it attains it. The spontaneous cannot be prompted, neither is immediacy quite enough for art.

The "tradition of identification" (as one may call this other vein in romantic American verse) has its great prototypal poet in Whitman. So many passages by him read like inspired inventories, catalogues of loved objects—"costless, average, divine, original, concrete":

You flagg'd walks of the cities! you strong curbs at the edges!  
 You ferries! you planks and posts of wharves! you timber-lined  
 sides! you distant ships!  
 You rows of houses! you window-pierc'd façades! you roofs!  
 You porches and entrances! you copings and iron guards!  
 You windows whose transparent shells might expose so much!  
 You doors and ascending steps! you arches!  
 You gray stones of interminable pavements! you trodden crossings!

This is a straightforward poetry of man's industry and craft, but in its quite unsophisticated way it is the forerunner of Marianne Moore with her precise, adroit, and learned depiction:

This elephant-skin  
 which I inhabit, fibred over like the shell of  
 the cocoanut, this piece of black glass through  
 which no light

can filter—cut  
 into checkers by rut  
 upon rut of unpreventable experience—  
 it is a manual for the peanut-tongued and the

hairy-toed. Black  
 but beautiful, my back  
 is full of the history of power. Of power? What  
 is powerful and what is not? My soul shall never

be cut into  
 by a wooden spear;

Dame Edith has written about this poem in both of her anthologies. In *The American Genius* she speaks of the poet's talent "for conveying the various depths and volumes and density of material." "In the shining or dark surfaces of these poems," she continues, "you find all gradations of texture, from the beech-

bark-like surface of the elephant, to the sweet warmth of feathers, and the varying transparencies and brilliances of precious stones."

In "the tradition of identification" the word-mosaics of Gertrude Stein play a small but influential part. The individuation which they reach out to capture is that of the word *per se*—its tone-values, speed, and volume as distinct from its referential meaning.

Amber is found on the shores of the Baltic  
Like wild asparagus you must have an eye for it  
All animals howl.  
All animals or a barnyard fowl.  
All animals are stars  
All animals and bars.  
Please pay a monkey a dear or a sweet.  
Please pay a lion a pheasant or a street.

Dame Edith has analysed the sound-structure of some of Gertrude Stein's lines in *The Atlantic Book of British and American Poetry*, and there are some strong resemblances between the work of this writer and her own early, five-finger, virtuoso pieces.

Of all Dame Edith's American choices none better illustrates the practice of organic form than the sensitive Theodore Roethke:

The way to the boiler was dark,  
Dark all the way,  
Over slippery cinders  
Through the long greenhouse.

The roses kept breathing in the dark.  
They had many mouths to breathe with.  
My knees made little winds underneath  
Where the weeds slept.

There was always a single light  
Swinging by the fire-pit,  
Where the fireman pulled out roses,  
The big roses, the big bloody clinkers.

Once I stayed all night.  
The light in the morning came slowly over the white  
Snow.  
There were many kinds of cool  
Air.  
Then came steam.

The supple pliable line-lengths here follow implicitly the movements of the reconnoitring mind. This is free-verse which is free to some purpose.

In *The Atlantic Book of British and American Poetry*, we can see the line of Dame Edith's choice, drawn not according to nationality but extended in a roughly chronological direction. The modern English counterpart to the American contribution, as chosen by her, is likewise romantic. It includes such poets as Roy Campbell, Dylan Thomas, and Day Lewis, with David Gascoyne and George Barker representing a younger generation.

The whole tone of the tradition which she defends, and the tone of the tradition which she opposes, can be felt in the following passages, the first from Barker, the second from Davie:  
Here is Barker:

Turn 'on your side and bear the day to me  
Beloved, sceptre-struck, immured  
In the glass wall of sleep.

And here is Davie:

Those Cambridge generations, Russell's, Keynes' . . .  
And mine? Oh mine was Wittgenstein's, no doubt:  
Sweet pastoral, too, when someone else explains,  
Although my memories leave the eclogues out.

To-day, the first tradition has fewer to defend it, and, remembering Coleridge's warning against passing an Act of Uniformity on the poets, we should be glad that Dame Edith has given it her considerable support.

# ST. BRUNO

By

A MONK OF PARKMINSTER

“**A**BOUT St. Bruno we know very little.” So wrote a recent Benedictine savant who liked to delve into the Carthusians’ past. Though he deplored the dearth of documentation, he pointed out that reserve has always been natural to Carthusians: they speak about themselves and are spoken about as little as possible. St. Anthelm and St. Hugh of Lincoln are exceptions to this rule, because their elevation to the episcopacy brought their virtues to light. They were obliged to live in the world where biographers are to be found.<sup>1</sup>

Benedict XIV spoke in similar terms when he beatified the cardinal Nicolas Albergati; Carthusian life, he said, was calculated to make a man holy, not to make his holiness known. It is one of the marks of all true greatness, and therefore of holiness, that it should tend to be nameless; of every great deed and therefore of heroic self-denial, that its doer strive to remain unknown. “When thou dost an alms let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth, that thy alms may be in secret.”

Guy I, Bruno’s fourth successor as head of his hermits of Chartreuse, wrote the first account about him, a short unbiased monastic chronicle:

Master Bruno, of German origin, from the renowned city of Cologne; of good family and of great culture, both secular and divine; a canon and master of a church second to none, in Rheims, Gaul; he gave up the world and founded and ruled for six years the desert of Chartreuse. He was obliged by Pope Urban, whose tutor he had been, to join the Roman Curia, to counsel and sustain the Holy Father in ecclesiastical affairs. Unable to endure the turmoil and procedure of the Curia, and longing keenly for the solitude and tranquillity he had left, he resigned his post. He refused to accept the archbishopric of Reggio to which he had been elected

<sup>1</sup> André Wilmart: *Chronique des Premiers Chartreux*, Revue Mabillon, Mars 1926.

at the Pope's bidding. He then retired to a hermitage in Calabria, called La Torre. Here he died and was buried about ten years after leaving Chartreuse.<sup>1</sup>

That was all, and during centuries Bruno remained as nameless to the world as the plain wooden cross over the grave of any one of his sons. A true hermit's desire is to be hidden not only in life but in death. If Bruno is now remembered, it is not for his remarkable culture and high ecclesiastical offices, but because he renounced all this for the solitary life, the life of pure prayer. There are books about him, and they reveal local colour as varied as his portraits: Le Sueur's in the Louvre, Zurbarán's at Cadiz. One day, perhaps, a St. Bruno whom no-one knows, not even his biographers, will be revealed. But this revelation is not a task for a Carthusian, whose solitary life hardly affords the facilities for the necessary research, correspondence and conversation which the writing of a definitive biography would demand.

Bruno is acknowledged by his contemporaries to be an outstanding theologian—"a doctor of doctors." There is a commentary in the Psalms of this period, almost certainly his,<sup>2</sup> which may be taken as representative of his spiritual teaching. It marks him out as learned in all the sacred sciences and filled with the Holy Spirit. In it we catch a glimpse of the Seminary Professor teaching his young students; but with a richness of methodology and a spiritual fervour so often absent from the treatises of the later Scholastics.

No-one can attain to eternal happiness by morality alone. They are the blessed ones who walk in the law of God and keep themselves undefiled on their journey, who do not make idle enquiries but examine His testimony closely, who strive in all sincerity after a spiritual understanding of His decrees which are secret, set forth in parable and mystery . . . and rise thence to find Him in contemplation, with all their hearts' affection set on Him. Blessed indeed are they who turn from this world's cares, and gaze longingly upon Him, seeking Him alone with the heart's whole love.<sup>3</sup>

Bruno is here giving forth his reflections on the great Psalm 118

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patres Latini* CLII, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Landgraf, *Collectanea Franciscana* VIII, 1938, p. 542. The author adds that this Commentary entitles Bruno to be called the Father of Scholasticism.

<sup>3</sup> P.L. CLII, 1259.

*Beati Immaculati in via*, which, in the view of so many of the early commentators, maps out the course of the spiritual life. In his interpretation, Bruno constantly applies the principle laid down in his preface, of the Patristic three senses of Holy Scripture, the literal, the moral and the mystical or spiritual. The literal sense is to be explained consistently in reference to the spiritual; for this latter is the sense which the Holy Ghost particularly has in view in the Psalms, and which alone gives true understanding of them. Hence we must proceed from the literal to the mystical via the moral, from the moral life to the contemplative life, from earthly things to heavenly. Bruno is at one with all the spiritual writers of his time in insisting that though one may save one's soul by Christian moral living, there can be no perfect living without contemplation:

Thou art my God and my King, Lord Jesus, my Creator and my Guide, effecting and ruling all the good that is in me. I shall exalt Thee ceaselessly in this life by my activity . . . and I shall praise Thee with an everlasting praise: that is, I shall glorify Thee with the glory of the contemplative life—here and in the life to come, according to the Gospel: "Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken away from her."<sup>1</sup>

In Bruno's age, the problem of relating the active part of Martha and the contemplative part of Mary was, for everyone but the monk, a personal problem of preserving sufficient freedom for contemplation in surroundings not organised for it. For the monk, no such problem existed. The active life, in our restricted sense of the exterior apostolate of preaching, teaching and the press, had not entered into, was foreign to, the monastic ideal. Monks were always active—*ora et labora*; but, at the most, their activity was that which they exercised in the words and works of fraternal charity within their community. A monk belonged not only to, but inside his own monastery—heart and mind. This is the context of such comments as: "and lest contemplatives should deem it harmful to descend from the summit of contemplation to the level of their neighbours' needs, Paul says you are to know that in every one of these you are serving the Lord." Bruno here is not encouraging the monk to go forth from his monastery, and engage in the "active" life. Each must serve the Lord in his own sphere—the cleric and

<sup>1</sup> P.L. CLII. 1396—Psalm 144.



layman in the exterior ministry, the monk, normally speaking, exclusively in his monastery. But we must notice also that in texts such as these, Bruno is not treating *ex professo* of contemplation and the contemplative life. Typical of his period he wrote no technical treatise of spirituality. The spirituals of his day were still what they were in the sixth century—eminent practitioners of the interior life, creators rather than exponents of the tradition from which the spiritual literature of the following century was to flow. The spiritual outlook is to be gathered from the historical background, occasional references, but especially from letters. It is epistolary literature which gives us a real insight into the monastic environment.

Bruno, who was born in 1030 and died in 1101, flourished towards the end of the "monastic age of spirituality," when monks were the more eminent and numerous of the spirituals. At this period the only form of religious life in the West, Celtic monasticism apart, was Benedictine, which had come to colour the whole outlook and activity of the Church in the West. But the new spiritual search, in which Bruno shared, was to lead either to a new realisation of the Rule, as at Cîteaux, to a return to the more contemplative past, as at Chartreuse, or to the birth of an entirely new religious form of life, one which by definition was to fulfil part of its vocation as an apostolate in the outside world, the Canons Regular of Premontre. Just as Cîteaux stands for more than mere discontent with a Cluny become wealthy and relaxed, so Chartreuse represents something other than disappointment with relaxation in general. It is rather a deliberate divergence from Molesme-Cîteaux; yet one which remains within the framework of the cenobitic Rule. Besides, these new founders were men of the superior culture which they had helped to create, Bruno and Stephen Harding, for instance, can compare favourably with Anselm and his contemporaries, masters of that intellectual revival which kept pace with the spiritual rebirth within the Church.

Entries on his bede-roll praise Bruno the master, the defender of the Church; but the majority praise his eremitical vocation: "Bruno the chief hermit," "the model of all those who lead the solitary life." He had sacrificed riches and a promising ecclesiastical career, faithful to a vow he had made to become a monk. He saw but did not accept Benedictine Molesme at the

height of its fervour. And he found at last, in the alpine fastness of Chartreuse, the environment fit for that life of penance and prayer which he and his few followers longed for. Here they arrived in 1084, and here they remained faithful to their eremitical calling. They kept the solitude for which they had given up so much; and the only legacy they bequeathed to mankind was the example of their life of prayer without compromise. They wrote nothing about it.

But Guy I, "the Venerable," Bruno's fourth successor as head of the hermits of Chartreuse, who had lived with some of the Master's first companions, embodied his spirit in the *Customs*—the first official Carthusian document. Guy was prevailed upon by Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, to set the *Customs* down in writing for other local groups of hermits. He had been a solitary for twenty years when he did so, in 1127. Regretfully, only out of obedience, conscious of the anomaly of breaking the silence to speak about the silent life, he says:

We have put off this task for a long time for motives which seemed reasonable to us; that is, because almost everything of a religious nature we are in the habit of doing here we believed to be contained either in the letters of blessed Jerome, or in the rule of blessed Benedict, or in the other authoritative writings. Furthermore, we considered ourselves in no way fitted to undertake or attempt any such thing. For we held it to be a part of our hidden way of life to be taught instead of to teach, to be a wiser thing rather to proclaim the blessings others enjoy than our own: for Scripture says, "Let another praise thee, and not thy own mouth: a stranger and not thy own lips." Our Lord in the Gospel also bids us: "Take heed that you do not your justice before men, to be seen by them." But since we are bound not to oppose the wishes, the authority, the affection of persons so important, let us recount, with His help what the Lord has granted us.<sup>1</sup>

Bruno and his followers saw the solitary life reflected in the lives of those "Holy Fathers on earth before us"—the great patriarchs and prophets, John the Precursor and the Desert Fathers; but most of all in the life of Our Lord Himself. So Guy writes in a note appended to his *Customs*:

About the solitary life we need say very little, for we know how highly it is commended by so many holy and learned men whose

<sup>1</sup> P.L. CLIII, 631.



authority is such that we are not worthy to be called their followers. . . . And Jesus Himself, God and Lord, whose virtue is not increased by His Hidden life nor diminished by His public life was yet tried, in a manner, by temptations and fasting in solitude. Holy Scripture tells us that He left the throng of His disciples and went up alone into the mountain to pray. And when the time of His Passion was at hand, He left His apostles in order to pray by Himself. By His example He emphasised strongly how very favourable is solitude to prayer; for He was unwilling to pray together with His followers, even with the apostles.<sup>1</sup>

Bruno was remarkable for his friendship. Guy says of him that he was the very likeness of integrity, sincerity, and maturity: of a love that was fathomless. He had made his vow to become a monk with friends, he came to Molesme with friends, and he arrived at Chartreuse with yet other friends; and after his release from the service of Urban III, we find him in Calabria, leading the solitary life with other friends still. It is important to notice that in practice, if not in theory, a certain association of solitaries can often bring an added perfection to the solitary life. The anti-social individual could not stand the society of other solitaries. In an eremitical monastery, where the deliberate control, effected by religious obedience, safeguards the supernatural orientation of the whole personality, he would fail in stability. It was mainly for mutual moral support, in the lonely life of faith which true solitude of necessity implies, that Bruno introduced into the solitary life that cenobitic element borrowed from St. Benedict and earlier models. It is this element which supplies the necessary minimum of juridical dependence for the attainment of Christian perfection: the watchful eye of the master who loves his disciples, the holy rivalry and solicitude of the brethren.

In every new development of Western monasticism, there has been renewed contact with the authentic tradition of the East. Dom Jean Leclercq goes so far as to say that this tradition is to Western monasticism what the apostolic tradition is to the faith of the Church.<sup>2</sup> In Bruno's time, of the twenty-six Fathers regarded as the institutors of the monastic life, only four were Latins; and one of these was St. Jerome, at that time often considered as an oriental.

<sup>1</sup> P.L. CLIII, 769-70.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, p. 88.

St. Bruno belonged to this eremitical current which drew its inspiration from the tradition of the Fathers of the Desert. And if he did not equal their ascetical performance, he was their peer in zeal for loving contemplation, contemplation in love. The solitary life was never more flourishing in the West than in his time, when the ideal *de contemptu mundi* was driving religious men all over Europe into solitude. Later, William of St. Thierry, in his *Golden Epistle*, addressed to Bruno's sons of the Charterhouse of Mont Dieu, summed up their Father's spiritual legacy, and outlined their vocation in the light of this same eremitical tradition of the desert. He hoped to see them, he says, "implanting in the darkness of the West and the cold of Gaul the light of the East and the ancient religious fervour of the monasteries of Egypt."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time Bruno was a European, not an oriental, and this fact marks the spirit of his reform. The particular accents in which he proclaimed to his sons the eastern teaching is echoed for us in two letters, the only writings attributed to him whose authenticity remains undisputed. He wrote them from his hermitage in Calabria, towards the end of his life. They reveal the old man's exquisite feeling, his heart and soul refined by years of contemplative prayer. Above all, they reveal his qualities as friend and mentor, delicate and guileless, and a love founded entirely in God.

The first of them is written to Raoul le Verd, Provost of the Church of Rheims:

Your loyalty to an old and tried friendship is all the more noble and praiseworthy for being a thing so rare amongst men. Although a great distance and a greater span of time keep us apart in body, yet nothing can separate your soul from that of your friend.

Bruno goes on to describe the wilderness of his Calabria—its gentle climate, the natural charm of the mountains, valleys, trees, fields, rivers and springs. But he had not chosen Calabria for its radiant beauty any more than he had Chartreuse for its cold, bold majesty, but both precisely for the solitude they assured:

Why should I dwell on all this? The things which delight a wise man, the things of heaven, are more agreeable and worthwhile by

<sup>1</sup> P.L. CLXXXIV, 309.

far. Still, these others often refresh the more delicate soul extended by a rather severe discipline and spiritual exercises, and bring it relief. The bow continuously strung tends to become slack and unfit for service. The advantage and delight that solitude brings to its lovers, they alone know who have experience of it.

A solitary is never less lonely than when alone, for he has God the more. Bruno, true to the eremitical tradition, associates silence with contemplation, solitude with the contemplative life, to the point of identifying them. Solitude and silence are not merely negative. They stand for what this self-denial alone can obtain: the complete self-dedication and love which seems possible only in solitude.

Here one learns to look with that serene gaze which wounds the Bridegroom with love: the spotless, undefiled beholding. Here is busy leisure and restful activity. Here God rewards his athletes with the longed-for prize, that peace which the world knows not, and joy in the Holy Spirit.

It is this consuming love of God, this overwhelming desire to possess the Divine Goodness, which is the root of Bruno's vocation, and of every Carthusian vocation; a love, a desire which imposes a sacred obligation:

Recall the day, my friend, when you and I and Fulk . . . afire with divine love promised and vowed to the Holy Spirit to abandon without delay the fleeting things of the world and to strive after things eternal, and to assume the monastic habit. . . . But what is so fair, so beneficial, what so inborn, so becoming human nature as to love the good? And what else is as good as God? Rather, what else is good besides God? Wherefore the chosen soul, perceiving in some measure the matchless grace, splendour and beauty of this good, aflame with the fire of love, declares: "My soul hath thirsted after the strong and living God: when shall I come and appear before the face of God?" O, that you would not scorn a friend's advice nor lend a deaf ear to the voice of the Spirit of God.<sup>1</sup>

In his second letter, to his own brethren of Chartreuse, Bruno elaborates on the high grace of the eremitical vocation, "your blessed lot and God's bountiful grace in you." It is the divine deliverance from the dangers of the world, the heavenly port after raging storm, the longed-for home of the exile and the traveller. In a special message to the laybrothers of the community,

<sup>1</sup> P.L. CLII, 420.

the man of letters shows himself aware of the dangers of the new learning. His praise of the *docta ignorantia* would have stigmatised him, had he lived a century later, as an anti-intellectual.

Of you, my dearly beloved laybrothers, I say this: My soul doth magnify the Lord, for I see the greatness of his mercy towards you . . . for although you are unlettered, yet God the mighty has, with his finger, written in your hearts both love and understanding of his sacred songs. For in your deeds you declare what you love and what you know. Since your practice of true obedience is both careful and keen, it is clear that you have plucked the very sweetest and most wholesome fruit of divine Scripture. Obedience is the fulfilment of God's decrees, the key and the seal of all spiritual discipline. It cannot exist without great humility and an uncommon patience. Chaste love of the Lord and true charity go with it always. Therefore, my brethren, hold the ground you have gained, avoid like the pest that sickly herd of those worthless ones who hawk the world with their writings, and who hum and haw about things they neither understand nor esteem, to which their speech and behaviour give the lie. . . .<sup>1</sup>

A note added to his bede-roll (the obituary letter circulated at his death) says of him: "Bruno deserved praise on many counts, but on one above the rest: his equanimity, the even temper of his ways. At all times his look was cheerful, his speech moderate. Paternal strength and maternal tenderness were joined in him."<sup>2</sup> When the bede-roll reached the Monastery of Our Lady at York, the monks wrote on it: "His fame informed us, even before your letter did, not indeed of the man's death, but of his goodness."<sup>3</sup> Prayer tends to simplify the soul, and the thought of the man of prayer gradually resolves itself into one steady gaze towards God. Its expressions which once were protracted became short and aspiratory. The eastern "Prayer of Jesus" and Richard Whitford's "Jesus Psalter" are examples of this regular respiration of the soul. For St. Hugh of Lincoln it was the repetition, even in sleep, of the mystic word so often on Our Lord's lips, "Amen . . . slowly, silently, pausing, most quietly, at intervals, now more often, now less."<sup>4</sup> For Hugh's father and master, Bruno, it was *O Bonitas*: our exclamation "Goodness." But for him the word was a definition of God,

<sup>1</sup> P.L. CLII, 49122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 554 C.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 591 C.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Magna S. Hugonis*, p. 82.

and the meaning of the goodness he saw everywhere and in everyone: the measure of his own.

The vocation of St. Bruno was to a life of pure prayer, one for which he renounced the active apostolic life of preaching and teaching. Pius XI, in his frequently-quoted apostolic Letter *Umbratilem*, declares that Bruno was divinely chosen to reform the contemplative life as such, to restore it to its pristine vigour, and thereby to assert its superiority in the hierarchy of divine vocations. "For no more perfect state and rule of life than this [the eremitical] can be proposed for men to adopt and embrace, if the Lord calls them to it."<sup>1</sup> The importance of St. Bruno in the history of the Church's spirituality is that his life emphasises the degree of inward holiness demanded from those who lead the solitary life, and the effect of their intimate union with God on the body of Christ, the Church.

To-day, it is fashionable to seek out the faults of the saints, to seek to see in them something of our own failings. Modern hagiographers tend to look askance at the hyperbole of Gaubert of St. Quentin of Beauvais who declares: "Bruno was the only man of his time who had renounced the world."<sup>2</sup> Bruno is an obscure figure on other counts as well. It is not certain whether he ever became a priest; and there is no record of what part he played in the Roman Curia, when called thither by Urban. But all this is of minor importance when compared with his providential mission to restore to its first vigour the more perfect form of Christian perfection, the contemplative life.

Bruno, like every authentic solitary, went into solitude for the one end, to grow in greater awareness of, and nearness to God, to God Incarnate, Jesus Christ, and in necessary consequence, in Him, to be more aware of and near to every other Christian, to mankind, on the spiritual plane, in terms of the eternal values of truth and love. The perfection to which all without discrimination are called, "Be you therefore perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," is absolute only in Jesus Christ, our Head. For us, His members, His perfection is diversified in the several ways and states of the Christian life, that it may be realised not only by each individual, but by us all as a whole, the Church. Our age of specialisation easily appreciates this.

No one of us, no one special way, claims to be more than a

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 1924, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> P.L. CLII, 578 A.



part in, an aspect of the perfection of the others. God our Father certainly hears the melody of each one's song, the prayer which is the individual Christian life. But He listens to the beauty, truth and love of the harmony, of the symphony He intends, human-divine, of prayer and activity. The lives of Martha and Mary amount to more than a sum of notes, more than a mere juxtaposition of parts. And if Holy Mother Church, in singling out Bruno's spiritual mission, makes the point of reiterating the hierarchy of vocations, the scale of the ways of perfection, it is also true that the most perfect are not necessarily nor always those called to the more perfect state of life. God, and He alone, if He so wills, can do a better work with a blunt or broken tool, can model better in a poorer clay, and to His greater glory He often does so. No truth is more fundamental in the solitary life than this.

The solitary life, painful to begin with, grows easy as one advances and becomes heavenly in the end. In adversity steadfast, in uncertainty trustworthy, it is unassuming in success. Sober in victuals, simple in attire, circumspect in speech, chaste in its ways, it is greatly to be ambitioned for being unpretentious itself. . . . It is given to study, particularly of the Scriptures and spiritual writings, where the marrow of meaning engages it more than the froth of words. And what will surprise you and what you will praise the more, is that it is a constant contemplative leisure because it is never a lazy one. Indeed, it so increases its service that more often it lacks time than a choice of things to do . . .<sup>1</sup>

About St. Bruno we know very little. In his age "many were the men in search of contemplation, but never has it been so little written about." In our day, the silence is frequently broken, that more may hear about the silent life. Yet in spite of all the wonderful and profound things said about it, its essence, supernatural silence, is not definable by talk. Master Bruno said all that can be said of it, in the lapidary statement, repeated by all contemplatives: "they only know it who have had experience of it." The only possible, profitable, breaking or penetration of this silence, this mystery of solitude, is when the soul itself breaks through its barrier, by grace and courage plunging into a deeper interior silence still, a purer and more powerful and universally efficacious prayer of faith.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The letter of Guy, Prior of Chartreuse, 1109-27, in *Révue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 14, p. 337.

# CATHOLIC ATTITUDES TO DIVORCE

*A Discussion*

By

DR. JOHN HUMPHREYS

FR. P. J. O'MAHONY

R. L. McEWEN

DR. JOHN HUMPHREYS: In the April number of *THE MONTH* the learned author of the article "Catholic Attitudes to Divorce" takes me to task for the statement in my article in the book *Catholics and Divorce*<sup>1</sup> to the effect that a non-Catholic who believes that divorce is permissible at least in certain circumstances can nevertheless contract a marriage which is valid in the eyes of the Church. Since this matter is of fundamental importance in these days when on the one hand a belief in divorce is fast becoming universal among those outside the Church and on the other when by God's grace the number of converts to the Church is increasing with the result that not a few prospective converts may have matrimonial entanglements, I feel it would be as well if I attempted to clarify the point which is essential in the Church's jurisprudence.

The essential matter of the contract of marriage, whether between baptised persons or between those who are not baptised, is the intention to hand over, permanently and exclusively, the marital rights to the body. If that intention is absent there is no valid marriage. But in what precise way must that intention be present in the will of the contractants? R. L. McEwen would seem to hold that this intention must be explicit, *i.e.* that the minds of the contractants must advert to the handing over of the

<sup>1</sup> *Catholics and Divorce*, edited by Patrick J. O'Mahony (Nelson 12s 6d).

rights and to the essential characteristics of this handing-over in an *explicit* manner, and consequent on this advertence the wills of the contractants must embrace these things in an *explicit* manner. It is only fair to point out here that the author does not actually say this in so many words, but if my reading of his article is not at fault he is logically driven to this position at least in the case of non-Catholics.

But is such explicit intention really necessary? It is certainly not necessary in our daily contracts in modern life; if I buy a car or a house I do not have to formulate in my mind in an explicit manner the basic objects of the contract and its essential characteristics. And if such explicit intention is necessary in order to contract a valid marriage how many marriages would be valid even among Catholics? Ask any good Catholic man: "At the time of marriage did you explicitly intend to hand over the marital rights to your body to your wife, and to hand them over perpetually and exclusively?" With the few possible exceptions of theologians, canonists and lawyers, the answer is most likely to be that it never entered his head, that he loved the lady and wanted her to be his wife. Note the words—*he wanted her to be his wife*, that was his sole explicit intention. Is his marriage invalid?

It is surely obvious that what is necessary and sufficient is an *implicit* intention. The intentions of the contractants are such that because of tradition, custom, positive law and so on, the object of their wills implies and contains within itself the essential element and its essential characteristics which we have noted. "I take this woman to be my wedded wife" implies within itself that the person offers his body to the woman concerned, exclusively and perpetually, to be used for marital purposes. *Implicitly* he intends all these things, *explicitly* he intends to be the woman's husband; it is a valid marriage, other things being equal, because *being a husband* or *being a wife* means that one offers oneself for the position as advertised by natural law, by Church law and—be it noted—by English law, since in spite of the divorce laws, the law of England is still officially that marriage is a lifelong contract between one man and one woman.

Let us examine now the position of the person who has wrong concepts regarding this position of husband or wife—in particular the person who thinks that being a husband or wife means to be bound to another only until such time as there is a divorce. He



has misunderstood the advertisement, misunderstood the position. He *thinks* the position is not perpetual; in fact if he knew the true position he might probably not have accepted it. It is something which remains entirely in his mind, usually "at the back of his mind," though it may even be at the forefront of his mind and still remain within his mind and not be the object of his will. And here we come to the very basic point in Catholic jurisprudence. The contract of marriage, like any other contract, is centred in the *will*. And in judging of its validity we must examine the objects of the *will*. Knowledge or the lack of knowledge or mistaken ideas are all in the *mind*. True that the will depends on the mind (*nil volitum nisi praecognitum*) but this is not to say that the will must seize on every concept present in the mind and make it the object of the will. The man whose act of the will is "I want to be a husband to this woman" has primarily before him the idea of being joined to this woman to enjoy her marital company; his mistaken idea of dissolubility remains in his mind and does not become the object of his will, it is not part of his contract and it does not affect the validity of the marriage.

It is, of course, possible for a person to have wrong ideas about the perpetual nature of marriage or even wrong ideas about the nature of marriage in itself, right in the forefront of his mind and to make them an object of his will. This constitutes a totally different matter—there is now present in his *will* something which is incompatible with a true marriage, and he contracts invalidly. His will is to enter a dissoluble union, or to enter an unnatural union, etc. He may now mistakenly think he is entering into marriage but in fact he is not; he may think he is accepting the position of a husband but in fact he is not. He is entering into a union of his own making and not the union offered to him by nature and by law; he is accepting a position of his own making and not the position of husband offered to him.

Although examples in illustration are often dangerous we might try to illustrate the teaching by something from daily life. I want to buy a motor-car. My intention explicitly is to buy a motor-car, and this contains implicitly the intention to buy a vehicle which is propelled by the combustion engine depending for its power on the continuing explosions of a petrol-air mixture. Imagine a person who had an unreasonable horror of explosions in any form whatever. If that person knew that the motor-car

was propelled in such a manner he would never have bought it. But the object presented to his will is that a car is a vehicle for transporting himself and his family and in some way it is propelled by petrol—and thus his contract is a good contract. If, however, in the forefront of his mind is the idea that at any cost the car must not have anything to do with explosions the object of his will might be to purchase a vehicle for transporting himself and his family which in no way involves any explosion of any kind—and in such a case a contract to buy a motor-car would be invalid.

To sum up: the non-Catholic contracting marriage either in the presence of a civil registrar in his office or in a non-Catholic place of worship is normally intending to marry, to be a husband or to be a wife, in the traditional and natural sense of the words. He may think that such a union is dissoluble—but such a thought remains in his mind and is not made an object of his will. Implicitly he has willed a true marriage and therefore his marriage is valid. On the other hand it would appear that some non-Catholics nowadays deliberately choose to be married in the registrar's office rather than in the non-Catholic Church *so that their marriage may not be permanent*. Such a person has made dissolubility part of the object of his contract—to use a canonical expression, he has a positive intention opposed to the characteristic of indissolubility—and his contract is invalid. It is truer to say not that the person has entered into a dissoluble marriage, but that he has entered into a temporary contract of legalised concubinage.

FR. P. J. O'MAHONY: I have read R. L. McEwen's very interesting article on "Catholic Attitudes to Divorce." While I am very grateful for his kind remarks about my book, may I be allowed to make the following points.

Firstly, he says, that some statements in the first chapter "appear large and provocative to non-Catholics (e.g. 'the union demanded by Nature is exclusive as well as permanent')." Moreover, he says, it is a pity that this chapter is first on the list. I wish to emphasise that the book was written for Catholics as well as our non-Catholic brethren. It was not intended to please but rather state the case as it really is. There are times when charity demands just such statements of principles as may be

provoking, and this seems to be one of them. In reality, marriage is permanent and exclusive—in what other way can it be described?

Secondly, I freely admit that it is helpful to show that the teaching of the Church is not only true in principle but also in practice. Furthermore, it is most effective to depict the evil effects of divorce. However, this is not the main reason for opposing divorce. The case stands or falls by God and His teaching and not primarily by the social or other effects. Again the Catholic attitude to divorce is not merely a point of view that happens to be the traditional one. It is a doctrine taught by Christ for all men, Catholics and non-Catholics. It is the Church's duty to state God's teaching. Consequently, in any treatment of the question of divorce, this point must have first place. Whether this is less pleasing and effective for those outside the Church is beside the point.

Thirdly, I do not understand what R. L. McEwen means by "two kinds of marriage: marriage in the Church, to be governed by Church rules, and marriage in the registry office to be governed by State rules." The inference is that there should be recognition for two kinds of marriage, one permanent, the other terminable. Perhaps I have misunderstood his point, for in reality there is no such distinction. There is only one kind of marriage, *i.e.* permanent marriage.

Finally, an essential point made by Dr. Humphreys is questioned, and Mr. McEwen proceeds to say: "How can a person be let in for something, which was not within his intention?" Now this is a fundamental point in Catholic jurisprudence, *that is*—a person may well *believe* in divorce and still contract a valid marriage (cf. Code of Canon Law, Canon 1084). A marriage will only be invalid, if the person not only *believes* that marriage is soluble but also *wills* the solubility. If his act of consent was simply "I will to marry" then he willed marriage as it objectively exists, that is to say, permanent marriage. In willing the *continens* he wills the *contentum*. I think this point should receive a detailed explanation.

R. L. MCEWEN: I am most grateful to Dr. Humphreys and Fr. O'Mahony for their comments, and for giving me the opportunity of clarifying what I wrote in my article.

I do not, of course, disagree with Dr. Humphreys or Fr. O'Mahony on the fundamental distinction in Catholic jurisprudence between mind and will—between, in this instance, *simplex error* and *defectus consensus*. In this connection I certainly misunderstood the statement of Dr. Humphreys that I quoted, for which I apologise. At the same time, I do not think that recognition of this distinction solves the problem in England to-day.

So far as Catholics are concerned, it seems to me that Dr. Humphreys is making a needless difficulty by choosing to use different words from those actually laid down in the marriage service to express the obligations undertaken, and their permanent and unrenounceable character. It would be strange if the Church did not make the nature of the undertaking and its binding character on each party, regardless of how the other party might in fact behave later on, as plain and explicit as possible, both in her teaching and her ceremonies. With all respect to Dr. Humphreys, I cannot agree that only theologians and lawyers among Catholics fully appreciate what they are doing when they take the marriage vows which the Church has made so exceedingly plain—till death, and not unhappiness, do us part. With regard to non-Catholics, I agree that for marriage "what is necessary and sufficient is an implicit intention" if, and only if, that in which the intention is said to be implicit carries the necessary connotation; that is, in this instance, if the words "marry," "husband," etc.—the words in Dr. Humphreys's Advertisement—as used by the particular persons in the particular society under consideration, can truly be said to carry the connotation of indissolubility, in addition, of course, to the other essential characteristics of marriage. This I believe to be no longer the case, for the reasons set out in my article (for instance, the established church speaks with a different voice from the established law). In my opinion, the dominant view of "marriage" in the social environment of the time gives rise, or should if we are realistic give rise, to a presumption of dissolubility; such a presumption can be rebutted no doubt; our difference is essentially one of burden of proof. This opinion appears to derive support from the view now taken of the kind of intention necessary to exclude a true marriage. According to Fr. Henry Davis (*Moral and Pastoral Theology*, ed., 1958, pp. 189-190):

"It is important to observe that a mere intention to seek

divorce if the marriage prove to be inconvenient is sufficient to vitiate the matrimonial consent. Such an intention need not be made a *conditio sine qua non* agreed upon by both parties. In its former decrees, the Sacred Rota appeared to follow the rules of jurisprudence, which required the intention (excluding a true marriage) to be formulated as a *conditio sine qua non*. But later it admitted that this was not necessary."

Fr. Davis gives a reference to Cappello, III n. 599, as to the solution of problems arising from the practice of the Rota.

I do not find the analogy from buying a car very helpful. For the validity of such a contract it does not normally matter what illusions the buyer may have (indeed I would dissent from Dr. Humphreys' conclusions, at any rate in English law); but a marriage is not an object, it is a relationship, brought into existence through the intentions of the parties themselves.

My disagreement with Dr. Humphreys, in the end, appears to me to be not over words but over facts, and the conclusions to be drawn from them; I think that what he states at the end of his explanation is a just description of most Registry Office and many Protestant "marriages" since the widespread increase of divorce, and its reiterated presence in life, literature, and entertainment. The opposite view results in continually telling both Catholics and non-Catholics that in this very important matter they are not really aware of what they are doing; and non-Catholics later receiving the grace of faith are told that they have inadvertently tied themselves for life because what can be in the mind may not be also in the will, and the theologians, guessing retrospectively about their minds and wills, start from a presumption which appears unwarranted by the facts.

As to the points specifically raised by Fr. O'Mahony, I agree with him that the intention of his book was to state a case, and not to please. I did not, with respect, suggest that it should have been written to please. But quite often a case may be better stated by not putting even one's most important point first; and even truths may be stated in a more or less compelling manner.

As to "recognition of two kinds of marriage," I meant, and said, "State" recognition. I apologise for not using inverted commas over "marriage"; naturally I do not believe that there is more than one kind.



# CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTIAN UNITY

## *A Survey of Recent Literature*

THE TWO great religious concerns of our day, Christian apologetics and Christian unity, are well represented in recent publishing.<sup>1</sup> The task with which the Church is increasingly faced in Europe is that of presenting Christianity in a convincing way to a generation that, instead of being brought up in Christian beliefs and with a Christian world-view, has been deeply influenced by the methods and achievements of natural science. Before the Renaissance, when the assumption of a "three-storeyed universe," with Heaven above the earth and Hell below, was easily accepted, belief in a supernatural religion was superficially easier than it is to-day when science has so largely succeeded in dispelling mystery from the universe. In some ways the scientist's picture of the universe has strengthened the rational basis of theism; for the mathematical structure of the world revealed by science suggests that its creator was, among other things, a mathematician. At the same time, however, the modern attack on metaphysics has produced a climate of thought unfavourable to the austere rational type of apologetics that has been fashionable for some centuries, and we are seeing now a return to the older, biblical, presentation of Christianity. Thus many contemporary theologians think that the best apologetic for Christianity in our age is not some preliminary logical demonstration (valid as that is), but the Judaeo-Christian revelation itself. Reflection upon man himself shows that he is precisely what the Bible represents him as being, an essentially spiritual, religious creature, the image of God, fallen but offered redemption. Only in the light of the Christian revelation can man understand himself, and only in the same light can man's existence gain either meaning or the value and dimensions of which he dimly knows it to be capable.

The Abbot of Downside's essay is informed by a deep scholarship.

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to Christianity*, by Paul Hessert (Allen and Unwin 30s).

*One Fold*, edited by Edward F. Hanahoe and Titus F. Cranny (Graymoor Friars, New York \$6.50).

*Approaches to Christian Unity*, by C. J. Dumont, O.P., translated by Henry St. John, O.P. (Darton, Longman and Todd 25s).

*Why Christ*, by B. C. Butler (Darton, Longman and Todd 10s 6d).

*John Keble's Literary and Religious Contribution to the Oxford Movement*, by W. J. A. Beek (Centrale Drukkerij N.V., Nijmegen 20s).

*Christianity in Conflict*, by John A. Hardon, S.J. (Newman \$4.50).

*The Church Today*, by J. W. C. Wand (Penguin Books 3s 6d).



Christian origins and the Church are handled in a fresh and stimulating way, and the biblical revelation is studied against the background of general religious history. The Abbot analyses lucidly the logic and implications of love and of the distinctively human desire that irrepressibly reaches out towards the infinite. *Why Christ* also contains some valuable pages on the Papacy: pages which, since they take account of O. Cullmann's objections, form a useful appendix to the author's earlier work, *The Church and Infallibility*.

Sometime Archbishop of Brisbane and Bishop of London, Dr. Wand now adds to his distinguished achievements in peace and war (he was a military chaplain in the First World War) the editorship of the *Church Quarterly Review* and other literary work. His new *Pelican* is a re-statement, admirably balanced and in contemporary language, of the divine plan of salvation and of the Christian message. While Dr. Wand's conception of the Church is not that of the Church, his sketch of Christian history is generally fair and objective. Aware that the Church of England has sometimes been criticised for being rather too much like a welfare-organisation, Dr. Wand points out with some justice that in so far as "welfareism" means concern for our brother, it must always be a mark of a genuinely Christian community. While *The Church Today* has for its main aim the interpretation of the Christian Gospel in non-technical language, it is also directed towards Christian unity and is itself uniformly inspired by charity.

A more substantial work is Dr. Paul Hessert's *Introduction to Christianity*. In conception and execution this book is a full-scale exercise in biblical theology. While it is justly described on the dust-cover as undenominational in tone, it is written from the general Protestant standpoint represented by the volumes in the *Christian Faith* series edited by Reinhold Niebuhr. If less brilliant than A. Miller's *The Renewal of Man* and W. J. Wolf's *Man's Knowledge of God* in that series, it is more balanced, more complete and nearer to the Catholic centre. A large part of the book, in fact, is an extremely good summary of the modern (not specifically Protestant) interpretation of revelation as redemptive history. The central character of the narrative parts of the Bible, Dr. Hessert argues, suggests that it is primarily through His interventions in human history that God has chosen to reveal Himself. In the Old Testament God first manifested His power and mercy through the "mighty works" by which He revealed Himself as the God and Saviour of Israel. This redemptive history culminates in the Christ-event: the incarnation, life and death of Jesus at a definite point in time, which thus becomes the centre of history. Christ is God's last word, a substantial Word; and in Him and His saving work redemption and revelation alike culminate.

"God who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in times past through the prophets, last of all in these days hath spoken to us by a Son." Christ is the "image" which perfectly mirrors God's invisible and mysterious being, the Word which translates the divine nature into the language of man. Since recent scholarship has shown that the originality of Our Lord's moral teaching has sometimes been exaggerated in the past, it is as well to remember that, sublime and unique as that teaching is, we must look, for the real originality of Christ and the heart of His revelation, to His Person and His redemptive work. This view of revelation, however, as redemptive history needs qualification. Historical events cannot alone constitute revelation in the full sense; to be revelation they need interpreting. But this authoritative interpretation was given by the Prophets in the Old Law and by Christ Himself and His Apostles in the New.

Dr. Hessert pays a pleasing tribute to St. Thomas Aquinas, and he is representative of a growing number of Protestant theologians in recognising the importance of tradition and of the Church. His view of the Church, however, is less than satisfactory, and the same, unfortunately, must be said of his doctrine of the Blessed Trinity which, at least linguistically, savours somewhat of modalism. Nevertheless we must be grateful to Dr. Hessert for a thoughtful, scholarly and stimulating book.

A great deal of original research has gone to the making of Dr. Beek's study of Keble's literary and religious contribution to the Oxford Movement. Dr. Beek is a Dutch Catholic scholar (who, incidentally, writes excellent English), but he approaches his study with such objectivity and sympathetic understanding that John Keble emerges from his scrutiny with enhanced stature. Not that we could ever doubt the importance, in the Oxford Movement, of the man to whom Newman referred when he wrote: "the true and primary author of it . . . , as is usual with great motive powers, was out of sight." Still, for all his sweetness and saintliness and the affection he evoked in his own time, Keble has often subsequently seemed a rather dim personality, dwarfed by such giants as Newman and Pusey. The trouble perhaps has been that he has been remembered chiefly by his religious verse, which was mostly written to order for the poetry department of the *British Magazine*. Certainly Keble does not appear as a vivid or powerful personality in the pages of Sir Geoffrey Faber's *Oxford Apostles*. Indeed Faber, while recognising Keble's charm and strength, associated the latter quality with stupidity. And yet, as Faber somewhat grudgingly recognised, Keble was ("within his own strict limitations") the most brilliant scholar of his day. Nine years Newman's senior, he won an open scholarship to Corpus at the age of fourteen, gained a double first in classics and mathe-

matics in 1810, and was only nineteen when he was elected to an Oriel fellowship, then the greatest prize in Oxford's gift.

It is true that Keble was no match for the quick-witted and free-thinking (but fundamentally serious-minded) "Noetics" in the cut-and-thrust of debate in the Oriel senior common room, although they recognised and respected his spirituality and idealism. But there are many different ways of being clever, and Keble's brooding, intuitive mind found its own characteristic answer to the challenge with which all the Tractarians were faced. This challenge was the threat to Christianity represented by physical science, biblical criticism and the diffused rationalistic temper generated in the eighteenth century, that "age of prose and reason" dominated by the bright but baleful influence of Hume. (Indeed, the intellectual climate in the early nineteenth century was not very different from what it is to-day.)

The Christian philosophy developed by Keble in answer to this challenge was indebted to Bishop Butler and to the early Romantic poets, and it bore a general similarity to Newman's. Above all, however, it was biblical; and Keble must be recognised as a pioneer of the revival of biblical theology, as well as of much that goes by the name of Christian existentialism to-day. Keble insisted that the philosopher's most important datum is not the physical world, but man's own moral nature, with its spiritual consciousness, religious questionings and immortal longings. Man is not simply a thinking being, but is also will, desire, love, emotion, imagination and sensibility. Since it is in distinctively human experience that man may expect to find the key to the riddle of existence, it is necessary to repudiate a philosophy whose model is the methods of natural science, and to construct a personalist philosophy by a return to the ways of thinking of the Bible and the Fathers. When a man turns inwards, recollecting himself in the manner of the mystics, he discovers his "soul's immensity" (which his "exterior semblance doth belie"), learns that his true home is in a spiritual world, that he is orientated towards God, and that only by opening himself towards God can he find himself. Obviously the religious assurance produced by this spiritual surrender is something very different from logical certainty. But just as Rudolf Bultmann insists to-day that the transcendence of God implies that He must always be concealed by the same event which reveals Him, so Keble held that God remains a "hidden God" whose presence is discerned only by faith. Keble regarded this faith existentially, not, that is, as a mere intellectual assent, but as a function of the whole personality, an act of self-commitment, a decision (which must be repeated again and again) between two worlds.

Hardly less interesting is Dr. Beek's admirably fair and objective summary of Keble's specifically Anglican apologetic. For it shows

that Keble's position was substantially the same as that still maintained by the Anglo-Catholic party to-day. In 1843 a "thunderbolt" of a letter from Newman warned Keble that his dear friend would soon cease to be a member of the Anglican communion. Keble has recorded that in the sadness of his distress he "retired into an old chalk pit to read it" (and much later wrote to Newman, "I cannot tell you with what sort of fancy I look at the place now"). Nevertheless Newman's secession two years later, though "it was to him both a public and a private sorrow which nothing could repair," left Keble unshaken. He clung to his theory (the "Branch theory") that the Church as a visible society is divided into the three communions, or "branches," of Rome, Eastern Orthodoxy and Canterbury. Looking back nostalgically to "the primitive, undivided Church," he thought that the modern Church was decadent and divided, but that all three "branches" providentially remained Catholic in essentials and possessed in the Creed all doctrines necessary for salvation. Indeed, surprising as it seems, Keble never seems to have thought of following Newman to Rome ("at least till Rome be much changed indeed") even in the event of a Low Church victory forcing him out of the Church of his baptism. Although by no means blind to the imperfections of Anglicanism, he believed that the excesses of the English Reformers were "more than balanced by the accretions of Roman Catholicism." For, on the question of development of doctrine, he parted absolutely from Newman, holding that Newman's view, so far from justifying "Roman novelties," was itself a novelty of the first water. Regarding the Church, not as a monarchy, but as a corporation in which infallibility was the prerogative only of all the successors of the Apostles collectively, Keble looked back wistfully to the vanished golden days before the Eastern Schism.

It is, no doubt, because the "Branch theory" has already been refuted so often that Dr. Beek does not complement his excellent account of Keble's ecclesiology with an exposure of its fallacies. We may, however, at some danger of triteness, make a few points. First, the theory is incompatible with the indefectibility which Christ promised to His Church. The Holy Spirit's presence in the Church, which is axiomatic, is incompatible with the hypothesis that the Church is divided, and is still more incompatible with the hypothesis that the Church is divided into a number of branches all of which are in some degree in error. Secondly, it is, on the Branch theory, at least extremely odd that this theory is itself held by only a tiny minority of Christians and is rejected by the vast majority; for it is repudiated, not only by most Protestants, but also by the two largest "branches," the Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox, both of which, although they disagree about the identity of the Church, agree that

it is not, and cannot be, divided. Thirdly, so far from modern developments in theology having weakened the case for papal supremacy, biblical theology has reinforced it. For the Bible speaks characteristically in images, and if a modern Roman Catholic had the chance to write the New Testament himself he would be hard put to it to devise a more eloquent triad of images than those of the Keys, the Shepherd and the Rock.

*One Fold*, which was originally destined for publication in 1958, is a collection of documents and essays designed to mark the golden jubilee of the Chair of Unity octave of prayer. It is fittingly dedicated to the memory of Fr. Paul James Francis, founder of the Society of the Atonement and originator of the Octave, and is introduced by congratulatory letters to the Graymoor Friars from Cardinals Canali, Agagianian and Tisserant. Most of the essays are scholarly, and Fr. Carroll's essay on "The Image Breakers of Constantinople" is brilliant.

In his *Christian Unity*, Fr. Dumont underlines the immense difficulties that bar the way to the goal. The first result, he observes, of discussions between different communions has been to bring into the open the full inflexibility of confessional divergencies so that we might well despair were it not that what is impossible with man is possible with God. In a useful introduction Fr. Henry St. John reminds us that in the oecumenical dialogue Catholics must make every effort to understand the positions of other communions and to present them honestly when refuting them; otherwise, indeed, our separated brethren are unlikely to listen to us.

Fr. John A. Hardon is a young American Jesuit already widely known for his work with Vatican Radio and his contributions to *Civiltà Cattolica*. His *Christianity in Conflict* is intended primarily for an American public, but its tough common sense will be appreciated here. It is a realistic, hard-hitting book, and in the course of it the World Council of Churches comes in for some trenchant criticism. Fr. Hardon perhaps attempts to cover rather too much ground, so that in the space available he can hardly do justice to the nuances of Anglicanism and of Protestant theology. The chapters on religious problems in America are well documented and shrewd, and the pages on contraception are particularly valuable. This is a lively and charitable book.

A. A. STEPHENSON



## REVIEWS

### AN IRISH AJAX

*The Fall of Parnell, 1890-91*, by F. S. L. Lyons (Routledge 42s).

MOST IRISH LEADERS are consigned to a single volume. O'Connell, Isaac Butt, John Redmond and Arthur Griffith are not likely to reach book form again. But Parnell seems to be of perennial interest. Since Henry Harrison's passionate books vindicating his leader, O'Brien Cruise has studied Parnell's Party in an entire volume. Now Professor Lyons offers an intense but calm-blooded account of the final terrible year between the divorce case which released William O'Shea's wife to become Mrs. Parnell, and the death of Parnell.

What followed the decree could not have occurred in any other country except Ireland, if only because elsewhere the morals of Dictators are secure from the imperious commentary of the dictated. Professor Lyons shows what was not realised; that Parnell's immense powers were decreasing. His Irish leadership was already passing to Dillon and O'Brien. He was losing hold of the House of Commons except for some dramatic and electrifying appearances. Often he disappeared from sight, but on the hillsides his legend grew like that of Shane O'Neill, or of some of those shadowy warriors recorded in the Dictionary of National Biography without absolute proof of their existence.

There is no one living to-day who knew Parnell, and even their books do not tell us all we would like to know. For instance, where is the important correspondence between Parnell and Rhodes? What were the conditions of the original mixed marriage between the O'Sheas? Was its validity ever tested? Parnell's solicitor, Sir George Lewis, told him that he could blow O'Shea to smithereens if he cared to fight the case on collusion. O'Shea was far from being the innocent and injured husband. He took advantage of his position to exact a stiff price and only let loose the scandal when his wife had inherited the fortune for which he had naturally hoped. If only old Mrs. Wood had continued to live, or O'Shea had died, Parnell would have survived to carry the Second Home Rule Bill. But the climax inevitably came, not unlike that of a Greek Tragedy with all the appropriate parts taken from *Antony and Cleopatra*, and the wailing, threatening, adoring Irish people acting as Chorus.

What made the situation so poignant was that the Irish Party had quickly re-elected Parnell on the ground that the divorce was a private matter. And so it was. But unfortunately Parnell was the "uncrowned king of Ireland," and that chaste country required at least a mild



apology for what had happened. Archbishop Croke was anxious to save Parnell's face, if not his reputation, but letting him down easily. A short retirement was suggested, or an authority exercised through a deputy such as Justin McCarthy was admirably suited to be.

Archbishop Walsh urged caution and prudence to the last on Cardinal Manning, who expected the Irish Bishops to crush an outbreak of what he called "Tudorism." A provoking difficulty was that non-conformist preachers were the first to attack Parnell. But finally Gladstone turned him down in a famous postscript to a letter entrusted to John Morley. The party, which for ten years had stood together unflinchingly, broke after a series of frantic struggles in Committee Room 15. Much more was broken besides. Not only the hearts of his most faithful followers, a handful of whom followed him to the bitter end, but also Irish Nationalism, the union of hearts with the English Liberals, and the whole country, family divided against family.

It is easy to blame Parnell, but it must be remembered that he had never wished to retain his irregular relationship with Mrs. O'Shea. Once he found her essential to his happiness and health, he had sought to make her his wife. He disliked secrecy and the subterfuges he was compelled to adopt. Romance did not excite him. He was interested in Mrs. O'Shea's adroitness in communicating with Gladstone and Chamberlain when he had no other means of reaching them. Hence the Kilmainham Treaty. At the first opportunity he made her openly his wife, but in Ireland this had the reverse effect to what he had hoped to achieve. Be it remembered by Protestants to-day, who indulge in divorce by the hundred thousand, that in these days he would be considered quite respectable. At any rate, neither he nor Mrs. O'Shea had a trail of previous marriages. Parnell himself had never been married, though in his early travels in America he had tried to marry a lady who, ironically, bore the same family name as the *femme fatale* of his career. Be it remembered by Catholics that Catherine O'Shea, though not a Catholic, brought up the children both of O'Shea and Parnell as Catholics. As a result, Parnell's two daughters and a grandson, with whom his blood-line came to a conclusion, lived and died in the Holy Faith.

Mrs. O'Shea's disasters and griefs are also to be considered, for she was called upon to suffer so much more than women in her position are usually made to suffer in public.

Politically, much is clearly shown for the first time in this book. It explains, for example, why Parnell was so immovable, when the least gesture of regret would have kept his followers together, and the Church out of his private affairs. He had always been indifferent to English hatred, aloof from his followers, tenacious even in illness and agony. Above all, he possessed that invincible pride for which the

Greeks coined the valuable word *hubris* which has been borrowed by historians so often in our own day.

It was quite clear that Parnell believed that Home Rule could not be won without his leadership, and that there was no leader to take his place. He offered to resign if any could be found, and in one agonised speech he told his party to sell him if they could get the right price. The efforts made by Dillon and O'Brien from America, and later at the Boulogne negotiations, are clearly outlined in this book for the first time. So also are the circumstances which brought about the fumbling by Gladstone when the stricken party crawled to Hawarden to collect the possible "Liberal guarantees," which were, of course, declined.

The last phase was the struggle to win three bye-elections, which were fought like ghastly, suicidal frays in an Epic. Ajax was the Greek forerunner of Parnell. Gladstone might well have quoted from his well-worn Homer lines which would have nobly concluded the career of a supreme protagonist, instead of the outburst of Irish abuse which seemed as insane as Parnell's last Manifesto. His epitaph might well have been that given by Wellington to Ferdinand VIII, King of Spain, who reversed the Salic Law: "One may love a woman very well but one should not incur a civil war for her sake."

The grim result has been to leave Catholic Ireland divided to this day and an easy victim to the Partition which only Parnell could have slain in the bud.

When a gallant and handsome English officer died in India between the Wars, the last descendant of Parnell was laid in a distant grave. The Irish Archbishops would have mourned had they foreseen that Parnell's only grandson would be carried to burial with a Catholic requiem.

SHANE LESLIE

### CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

*The Use of Lights in Christian Worship*, by D. R. Dendy (S.P.C.K. 30s).

**A** PART FROM THE ELECTRONIC ORGAN (which is only tolerated in cases of necessity) everything we use in liturgical worship has a long history. There are many books on the history of church buildings, of altars, of sacred vessels, of liturgical vestments, even of the use of incense. But, so far as the present reviewer is aware, this is the first book (as opposed to a mere article or chapter) which has appeared in the English language devoted to the history of lights as used in Christian worship. As such it is likely to become a standard work of reference.

And it will deserve to be thus honoured, for it is both thorough and scholarly. The author has done an immense amount of reading and substantiates his findings by copious quotations from original sources. He ranges over the whole field from the earliest Christian times up to our own day. While his study does not exclude some attention to eastern practices, it is concerned primarily with the history of lights as used by the Catholic Church in the West up till the Reformation. This is followed by a chapter on the usages of the Church of England since then.

The history of lights in worship is more complicated than one might think. We are so accustomed to candles on the altar at Mass, and to votive candles and lamps at shrines that we tend to assume these things have always been so. Yet for four centuries—a period as long as that which separates Elizabeth II from Elizabeth I—the Church would not admit lights as an expression of her worship. They were used only as illuminants. The symbolic use of lights belonged to Jewish worship which the Church repudiated, and also to pagan worship which she denounced.

Yet the symbolism inherent in lights could not be for ever ignored. Lamps, even if admitted to churches for the sole purpose of giving light, did in fact add to the beauty of the buildings; man's natural desire to surround with beauty whatever he reveres as holy led to a steady increase in the number of lamps, to their arrangement of patterns, to the artistic construction of the lamps themselves and in candlesticks, and to their employment not only at services held during the hours of darkness, but during the day-time, precisely as ornaments. The provision of oil for the lamps and of wax for the candles became recognised ways in which the faithful could express their generous devotion. Hence lights at the shrines of saints, around the altar, and finally upon the very altar of sacrifice itself.

The honorific use of lights in civilian life was another starting-point from which lights invaded worship; lights at funerals were so general in all regions that the Church ended by admitting them too. The appeal of the symbolism gave rise to the use of candles in Holy Week and at baptism. The gradual development of all these and many other usages is traced out very fully in Mr. Dendy's book, with numerous quotations from documents of every century and country. The result is an authoritative treatise fully up to the standards one has learned to expect from the Alcuin Club.

CLIFFORD HOWELL

## THE CHRISTIAN PRIEST

*Priest of Christ*, by F. J. Ripley, Late Superior of the Catholic Missionary Society (Burns and Oates 21s).

*Abbé Pouget*, by Jean Guitton, translated by Fergus Murphy, with a Biographical Note by the Earl of Wicklow (Clonmore and Reynolds 21s).

**M**AY WE FIRST EXPRESS our regret that ill-health has caused the Very Rev. Fr. Ripley to resign his work as Superior of the C.M.S.? His book consists of conferences given during fifteen years to priests and seminarists, but it should help many a layman to understand what a priest is meant to be, and, please God, tries to be. It consists, roughly, of advice about the priest's personal, interior life; then, about his outward apostolic work. A priest must pray, yet may be "allergic" to this or that method. Never mind! There is the prayer of *will*, when the mind is too tired to think, or when, *e.g.*, necessary conversation prevents more than a "look towards God." (A priest of course may fool himself and think he can say Office properly while half-listening to the radio.) And a priest must read. No priest, at any age, will imagine there is nothing left for him to know about the Scriptures, the history of the Church, her saints and sinners; and, in particular, her struggles in the world of to-day. He may be so comfortable, or, again, so overwhelmed with local business, that he may be unconscious of the terrible and organised attack that is being made on the Christian Faith itself. But Fr. Ripley would not wish him to confine his reading exclusively to "religious" subjects. He would wish him to be, if possible, a man of "liberal" culture, able to join in general conversation; he can sympathise with as many interests as possible without being "worldly," laymen do not even like priests who pose as "men of the world." The possibility of a priest losing his faith is considered, and assigned to sin of some sort. But we would have welcomed some comfort for those who *feel as if* they had lost or were losing their faith. This feeling may even denote the opposite. True, a priest may be so smothered by daily routine that he half wonders if there is anything real behind it. But also, God may have granted him such an intuition of the *fact* of some mystery that he feels he has never yet really believed it to be true: that he will never be able to live up to what he has now seen to be the meaning of the creed he professes: that he almost wishes he had not had that intuition—*Exi a me!* Yet he *may* be enduring, so far as God sees he can, the "dark night," which will purify the very faith that he feels lost. He will need all of it if he is not to lose Hope in so iniquitous a world. And if Charity is to prevail in him, he *must* see his neighbour as created, loved, redeemed and preserved by God. Hence may there never be, in or out of the pulpit, any sneer, sarcasm, taint

of class-worship (or disdain), no hint of *nationalism*, so prevalent, so anti-Catholic! And this must be *positive*. The Polish and Hungarian Catholics *must* learn good *will* to the Russian; the French to the German; the Irish to the English; the White to the Black, or Yellow, and vice versa; the Priest must preach it, and show his charity to all. Fr. Ripley so well insists on the priest's responsibility to all within his parish—there is no more "Jew *v.* Gentile;" he is men's servant, not an autocrat; God's minister, not His substitute. Therefore, in the antagonist, or (much the hardest!) in the polite but indifferent, he will seek to see the best. He will start from where they are, not where he is (so, Our Lord: Mark 4: 33). He will go slow, and be glad if once he has led a man to *pray*, a chink, a cranny, is opened for the inflow of God's grace. Yet he will not shirk the *full* preaching of Catholic doctrine, any more than St. Paul did among his raw converts. Are not some sermons just "ethical," preachable almost by a Stoic? Our Lady is to have her unique vocation insisted on. Still Fr. Ripley has much to say about sheer organisation (and of course visiting, entrusted, maybe, first to the Legion of Mary). But he might, we think, grieve more deeply over the intrusion of money-matters into sermons. A clear statement of income, needs and desirable amenities, put in the porch, and its implementing entrusted to resolute, and convinced laymen, is a method of proved value. Well, each priest must learn his limitations! *Non omnia omnes*.

To read *Abbé Pouget* directly after Fr. Ripley's book, meant for priests with very high ideals, but with a sober realist outlook, able to distinguish between what needs to be done and what can be done; meant even for those who are ready to believe that God will grant extra-ordinary graces to Faith; is to pass from one climate, even from one world, into another, so perfectly English is Fr. Ripley's book, so absolutely French is Jean Guittou's. We say "Jean Guittou's book," because the bulk of it is arranged in three Dialogues. In the first of these the abbé hardly appears at all; in the other two M. Guittou says as much as, or more than, M. Pouget. Detached *logia* follow. Lord Wicklow tells us that the abbé was born in 1847, in a village in Auvergne, and worked as a farm lad, the eldest of six children. His talents were remarkable, his memory amazing: at seventeen he joined the Vincentians; learned by heart the whole of the Gospels and the Acts during his noviciate; was sent to teach mathematics and natural sciences (especially botany) in the provinces; returned to Paris in 1880, where he remained till his death in 1933. Here he learnt Hebrew and other oriental languages, fell strongly under the influence of Duchesne and became a vigorous "concordist." During those exasperating but inevitable years anyone who side-stepped the traditional formulas was ranked among the "unsafe." Though defended by his superior, he



resigned from teaching apologetics in 1905. But soon an explosion in his laboratory damaged his right eye: it had to be removed: then glaucoma attacked the other eye; he became almost blind. Save for his faith, he would have committed suicide. But his reward was tremendous. His denuded cell (he made even books by Duchesne inaccessible lest anyone chancing on them would misinterpret them — "Above science is charity. I would give all the criticism in the world for a single soul") became a magnet. The first to be brought to him was Jacques Chevalier. Then came one after the other of French intellectuals, either in search of faith or afraid of losing it or just in sympathy. Pouget is to be classed with the *great* Frenchmen, ascetical, like the abbés Huvelin or Mugnier, or writers like Lagrange, Grandmaison and Lebreton, whose impregnable orthodoxy survived all criticism of their learning. He became a great friend of Bergson, and even visited Loisy. He said that Loisy "demolished," while he himself cleaned off the rust, preserving history intact. He would have understood, without identifying himself with, Teilhard de Chardin, to whom so much harm has been done here by Julian Huxley's preface to the introduction of *The Phenomenon of Man*. He knew how to differentiate speculation from hypothesis; and, while he knew how the Hebrew *approach* to Truth is not that of the Graeco-Roman, he never thought that St. Paul and St. John taught a gospel other than that of the Synoptists. It is quite impossible to quote from this book which deals with many subjects: the antiquity of man, inspiration, the resurrection, St. Thomas, Christocentrality even if there be a plurality of "worlds." But we can safely and earnestly recommend it to careful readers. A few remarks: why does the translator write "Nocturne," and Plato's Phaedrus as *Phèdre*? On page 32 *omnia* should be *omnis*, and the "Lenten" preface is the Easter one. On page 75 the Centurion should be Pilate. Smaller slips we disregard.

C. C. MARTINDALE

#### MICROSCOPE AND TELESCOPE ON FREUD

*Freud: The Mind of the Moralist*, by Philip Rieff (Gollancz 30s).

THERE have probably been more books written about Freud and his doctrine than about any other important revolutionary thinker of our age. This is the most important critique of psychoanalysis that has come my way for many years. The author, an American, is a social philosopher, not a psychoanalyst; and, judging from the way every statement and comment are documented, he would appear to have read (and remembered) every word written by the late Sigmund Freud. This professional non-commitment, combined with his general philosophical scholarship, enables the author to write on Freud with a



detachment which will delight all readers who are neither fanatical protagonists nor antagonists of psychoanalysis.

Rieff pays every tribute to the genius of Freud and recognises that he changed the climate of thought in the Western world so radically that even Freud in his life-time could not grasp what he had accomplished and was to the end fighting to secure an already accomplished victory.

Rieff is not concerned with checking the efficacy (or otherwise) of psychoanalysis as a therapeutic instrument; his object is rather to see what remains of man and his destiny if Freud is right in his main suppositions and scientific beliefs. The picture is far from cheerful: there is, for instance, a new version of original sin, but no hope of redemption. This notion is based on the Freud-made myth, described in *Totem and Taboo*, of the slaying of the primal father, the original chief of some prehistoric horde, by the rebellious son. "Society" continued, nevertheless, to be authoritarian and oppressive, with the repressed impulse in man to rebel, checked by the guilt arising from the primal crime of patricide and the compensatory desire to honour and propitiate Authority. The individual man is always at war with society, with the consequent formation of neurotic compromises designed to bring about peaceful co-existence rather than open rebellion. One of the more successful—in the past, at any rate—of these inevitable collective neuroses is religion. What is to happen to man when this particular neurosis has been finally "cured" by even more general acceptance of Freud's mythology, psychology and ersatz-ethics?

This is but one of the many fascinating problems posed by Rieff. Every page of his well-written and scholarly discourse provokes thought and arouses interest.

E. B. STRAUSS

## A FRENZIED INNOCENT

*I Am My Brother*, by John Lehmann (Longmans 25s).

THIS IS THE SECOND VOLUME of Mr. Lehmann's autobiography, and in it he brings the story of his life up to the end of World War II. The "Left-wing fermentation of the thirties" is over; the hopes centred upon Soviet Russia have been blown sky-high by the Stalin-Hitler Pact and the subsequent contortionist exhibition put up by the "Comrades," coupled with the disappearance to America of Mr. Auden, have left the author and his friends well out on a limb. Having been turned down by the Army for health reasons and by various government departments (which still seems to surprise him) for political ones, Mr. Lehmann decides that he must devote himself

to "building a fortress for poetry." Thus like Eddy Marsh in the first war but, lacking Marsh's connections with the great world, in a more circumscribed way he became the poetic standard-bearer of the time. Nor, one gathers from a passage here and there, did the comparison wholly escape him. It is too early yet to attempt to compare one nest of singing birds with the other, to award the palm to *New Writing* on the one hand or *Georgian Poetry* on the other. But one difference, which has already been pointed out, is noticeable at once—namely the atmosphere of chronic suspicion which blinkers the outlook of the later generation. In June 1940 "the gnawing question is: how many Pétains are there here among our own government ranks?" General de Gaulle is thought to have had some connection with Action Française and is therefore not to be trusted. Is it not possible that the Home Guard is "an embryo fascist force"? And take the following:

I want to understand the anatomy of this war, to penetrate right to the heart of it where one can see the deeper shape and direction. My feeling that I must keep away from all public activity (apart from whatever service I have to do) is not merely because I see that such activity now attracts too many self-advertisers, double-dealers and frenzied innocents, but also comes from my conviction that the war is far more complex than it seems . . . I want intensely to understand it . . .

Quite. And yet there were many simpler folk even in the second World War who did not have to go through all this self-torture to find out what it was all about.

JOHN MCEWEN

#### ROBERT CECIL

*The Second Cecil: The Rise to Power: 1563-1604*, by P. M. Handover (Eyre and Spottiswoode 42s).

"HOW WE LIVE is so far removed from how we ought to live, that he who abandons what is done for what ought to be done will rather learn to bring about his own ruin than his preservation." This maxim of Machiavelli's prince might well have inspired the younger son of the first Baron Burghley as portrayed for us by Miss P. M. Handover. Nevertheless the writer is far from censorious: a fact which lends her study a certain atmosphere of objectivity, and throws the tortuousness of her subject into higher relief.

The indefatigable labour of a man with "his hands full of papers and head full of matter" scarcely suffices to make a hero. For all her care in pleading his cause, one is left with the impression that Essex, and even Raleigh, were more attractive men, if not greater. Indeed,

in her attempts to belittle Essex for the vindication of Cecil the authoress appears, at times, less than just. It is interesting to compare her treatment of the subject with Professor Black's in his *Reign of Elizabeth*. Some of the facts she herself uses do nothing to strengthen her case against Essex: "By July (1599) his 16,000 men had dwindled to 4,000, and he had not yet moved against the arch-rebel Tyrone. . . Further he had been commanded to grant Tyrone nothing without an unqualified submission. Yet he agreed to parley." In the circumstances it is not surprising that he agreed to parley. What is surprising is that the Council should have attempted to decide on the outcome of the campaign before ever it was fought. Since he had been given so little discretion, it was even less pardonable to brand his return to England as desertion; more particularly when he knew only too well the opportunities of a Cecil, to attack him from the rear. Essex, be it noted, did nothing to damage Cecil during his absence in France in 1598.

From time to time the hoof insists, even more noticeably, on breaking through the satin slipper Miss Handover has stitched so carefully. The unsavoury Lopez case looks uncommonly like a contrivance between Essex and Cecil; more particularly as from that time it seems that Essex pressed no more, on behalf of his candidate Francis Bacon, for the office of Attorney General. Well might Perez dub Cecil "Robertus Diabolus" ever afterwards. Again, Cecil's discrediting of the Master of Gray with James VI at the turn of the century reveals a dubious mastery of the art of deceit. Few episodes, however, reveal more completely the wolfishness of Cecil on the scent of a rival than his blackening of Cobham and Raleigh with the King of Scots. It is difficult to see what the authoress means when she says, "Unlike Howard, Cecil stabbed cleanly and decisively . . ." Only Machiavelli could accept her defence of the perjured oath that followed his slander: "something upon these lines had to be written if James's suspicion of Cobham and Raleigh were to become effective." Was not Cecil among his own kind when he complained to Carew in 1602, ". . . of all our number (God knoweth it) . . . I have none but vipers?" It was only a matter of skin-pattern and superior fortune and cunning that separated Cecil from the Henry Howard he affected to despise.

Without saying as much, the writer appears content to wish a plague on both houses in the religious question. She approves of the anti-Catholic policy of Cecil. Nevertheless she grinds her axe gently, and the sparks rarely fly. She chiefly appears to resent the fact that the existence of Puritans and Catholics spoilt the picture of Cecil, the good administrator, and made of him Cecil the persecutor. She reduces the spy-system of Walsingham and Cecil too easily to the ancestor of the modern press-reportage organisation. In the same way Austrians are descended from convicts. At the same time her analysis of the

Archpriest controversy, though brief, is decidedly penetrating and frank. Indeed, one can only criticise the identification of the Appellants with the secular priests as such. They should, of course, be distinguished as a party or faction.

Altogether this is a very readable biography: well-documented, informative, albeit rather selective in its use of evidence. The writer is heavily inclined to accept Cecil affectionately, with all his faults, as Elizabeth's "pigmy" and "elf." Nevertheless she does not entirely conceal the reasons for the popular dictum that he was also "the robin with the bloody breast."

FRANCIS EDWARDS

### MODERN SERMONS

*The Pastoral Sermons of Ronald A. Knox*, edited by Philip Caraman, S.J. (Burns and Oates 42s).

WE HAVE BEFORE US the first half of a complete collection of the sermons of Mgr. Knox. Fr. Caraman entitles them the *Pastoral Sermons* and we look forward to the companion volume of the *Occasional Sermons*. One reviewer has already pointed out that, since Mgr. Knox never exercised the ministry of a priest with the pastoral office, all the sermons are by way of being "occasional," whether the occasion were on the parochial level or the convent chapel or the panegyric in some cathedral; but the sermons in this collection are certainly on subjects that a good pastor would dutifully wish to put before his flock. These are written with great care and, as we know, were delivered with memorable deliberation and unforgettable grace. They are the fruit of the preacher's absorption in the Scriptures which nourished his spirituality. The meditative approach of an original mind so engrossed in the Word of God sparked off a remarkable gift in choosing a word or a phrase and the result makes every sermon in some respect original. It certainly is not a case of originality for originality's sake. Every gift of the whole man comes into play: some striking but simple example, some brief measuring up to contemporary forms of speech or behaviour brings life and vigour to a point of doctrine or devotion. He has a taxi-driver's expertise in the traffic of his thought and the facility of language allows him to contain a new direction with despatch and without fuss. His digression turns out not to be a digression at all but only the highlighting of a point already made, with the briefest of asides, where another would have ruined proportion by over-elaboration.

An admirable habit of his was to face a Biblical difficulty. He would, as the sermons reveal, offer an explanation without imposing it, and

then go on. (Alas, it is when the preacher does the reverse that we have to endure the argumentative, wordy and windy sermon.)

Fr. Caraman must be congratulated on his faith in the value of collecting these sermons, and the grouping is helpful as well as logical. As he says in his admirable introduction, "the central portion of the book forms a most valuable and modern treatise on the Blessed Sacrament."

There is one sermon in this section based on the simple experience that "there is one moment during the Mass, just about the *Domine non sum dignus*, when the priest, if he is not careful, catches a glimpse of his own features reflected in the paten, as he bends over it." He was talking to convent school girls and he goes on with brilliant simplicity to compare a mirror which gives us a reflection of ourselves the wrong way round with the Sacred Host which does not look like Christ but is really Christ, and without a word of technicality we are presented with a vivid idea of our old friends Substance and Accident, without, I think, any mention of them. This is not mere verbal brilliance. Words are the highly trained servants of much prayer, considerable study and deep thought.

The Pastoral Sermons are a valuable asset to the Spiritual Library for a long time to come.

J. PREEDY

## SHORTER NOTICES

*Albert Camus and the Literature of Revolt*, by John Cruickshank (Oxford University Press 25s).

THE SUPERScription to Mr. Cruickshank's book defined his interest in the subject: in the words of Mauriac, "there exists a good kind of uneasiness, a salutary sense of worry." It is for his working out of this anxious anguish (the *angst* of the Kierkegaardians) that Mr. Cruickshank has studied Camus.

Sometimes labelled a Nihilist, Camus had in fact evolved through different phases. By 1950, he was able to repudiate the notion of a "literature of despair." "Real despair," he wrote, "means death, the grave or the abyss. If despair prompts speech or reasoning, and above all if it results in writing, fraternity is established, natural objects are justified, love is born. A literature of despair is a contradiction in terms." In spite, then, of Camus's insistence on "the isolation of man in an alien universe," and on the human person's lonely pain of choice, communion of a sort does exist.

Mr. Cruickshank's book is a thorough examination of Camus's chief recurring themes: the seeming "insufficiency of certain traditional moral values, the estrangement of the individual from himself,



the humanist failure of Marxism, the problem of evil, atheism, the pressing finality of death, and the advocacy of a form of neo-paganism."

Mr. Cruickshank also makes a number of comparisons between non-Christian and Christian authors—Malraux, Sartre, Bernanos and Greene—all of whom he thinks of in some fashion as *révoltés*—"witnesses to the anxieties and aspirations of their age."

*Their Rights and Liberties: The Beginning of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland*, by Thomas O'Brien Hanley, S.J. (Newman Press \$2.75).

THE STORY of Maryland's contribution to the political tradition of America especially in the area of religious liberty has been sketched before. What is new in this book is an attempt to show that the ideals of religious and political liberty which the colonists brought to the New World were the fruit of new ideas developed among English Catholics in Tudor times—notably by Thomas More and Cardinal Allen. It was a happy inspiration. Recent work in American colonial history has proved that the subject can only be handled adequately by someone with a sure grasp of English history under Elizabeth and the Stuarts. And Calvert's colony has long awaited its Perry Miller, who would do for Maryland what that great scholar has done for New England. Fr. Hanley makes no pretence to play such a rôle. His book is short and is designed for the general reader. But even judged by its modest aims it cannot be said to be a success.

The first thing that puts one off is the author's very imperfect knowledge of Recusant History. There are many errors of fact, none of them important but all of them symptomatic. There is mention, for example, of the position which William Watson took up at the time of Pius V's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth. But in 1570 Watson was a boy of twelve. If the details are fuzzy, the generalisations are even fuzzier. Fr. Hanley's tone is modest but his suppositions in treating the ever-upward march of liberty and toleration in the U.S.A. are sometimes those of a Fourth of July orator. Every reference to Magna Carta and legislative sovereignty is seized on as proof of the colonists' thirst for freedom. This is a pity, because one feels that a much better case could have been made for the author's conclusions.

*Apparitions of Our Lady: Their Place in the Life of the Church*, by L. Locket (Nelson 15s net).

BY "apparitions" M. Locket means not only the story of an event—he assumes we know this—but the conditions of its occurrence, its consequences and the cultus due to it. He sees the nineteenth-century apparitions of Our Lady as forming a group, though he alludes only



by a word or two to the diffusion of the "miraculous medal" and La Salette, which preceded Lourdes (1858), and to Pontmain, which followed it. He goes into some detail about Fatima (1917), which he could not well omit as he does the later apparition at Beaurain. He regards these apparitions as a series and therefore having special significance, since God has His purpose in the life of the Church seen as a whole and in each of its parts. Certainly God gives the help suited to each hour of need—the development of the cult of the Blessed Sacrament in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (the feast of Corpus Christi and St. Thomas's hymns have a real analogy with the visual element in the Marian apparitions): the devotion to the Sacred Heart, in its two-fold current set flowing by St. John Eudes and St. Margaret Mary, as an apt counterpoise to Jansenist frigidity; and the visions at Lourdes and the miracles there have constantly been regarded as a rebuke administered to self-satisfied, "scientific" minds, shut to the supernatural. We certainly think that they have played their part in making science less sure of its confines, and, in turn, have made Catholics vastly more careful when enquiring into what is miraculous. Both Lourdes and Fatima seek to drive us back to the paramouncy of God and of the fact of sin, to our need for repentance and the duty of penance—and yet we read advertisements of pilgrimages de luxe! God's messenger, Our Lady, can certainly say: "I have set before you this day life and good, death and evil" (Deut. 30:15): the choice remains ours, and two wars, their horrible aftermath, and the dark horizon do not seem to have gone far towards making us choose aright. May God govern us.

*My Father's Business: A Priest in France*, by the Abbé Michonneau. Translated by E. Gilpin, based on the original version of *The Curé* (Nelson 18s).

*Living The Mass*, by F. Desplanques, S.J. Translated by Sister Maria Constance, Sister of Charity of Halifax (Sands 12s 6d).

AS LONG as we can remember, the French clergy have tried to take stock of their position in regard of the cleavage between themselves and the laity in both city and countryside. They wrote with clarity and wit and were realists save when captured by some one idea which rendered them *acharnés* in their fight for it. But how high their ideals were and how bravely maintained was seen in the days of the *associations cultuelles* when at the bidding of St. Pius X they impoverished themselves almost to destitution-point; and again in our own day when they sacrificed the plan of worker-priests, which was a heroic scheme, however rashly conceived. Abbé Michonneau is known as a man of rugged good sense (nor does his portrait betray

him), intensely hard working and aware of the changes in thought and speech that have taken place since, and largely because of, the two wars: the fierce old anti-clericalism is now but a shadow of what it was, too often because people are just unconscious of the priest: at the end of the first war, a young curate understood the young layman, but would he, by 1930? "Ten years later, the situation was completely changed again. After the war, he had to make a real effort if he still wanted to talk in a way they could understand." There is now no possibility of a priest being an oracle, or a sort of medicine man, let alone a tyrant (however benevolent) in his parish. If he feels he can't adjust himself, we feel perhaps that this needn't matter much—*Dominus supplet*, provided he is always totally a priest. In sermons he will not say one word, affect any emotion, that outstrips his *conviction*. No more pulpit rhetoric to-day! This book is concerned with his leisure, too, though it is hard to see how a French priest can have any. Still, if he feels that the day's job is over, and "now I can do as I like"—may his *likings* be priestly! He can *read*. I don't think the author says much about study and the desirability of filling up the gaps left in a seminarian's intellectual training; but till lately (we are catching up) how far better off the French have been than we in a Catholic literature intended neither for the school-room nor the expert's cavern! Abbé Michonneau deals also with the question of money. The tradition in France and our own situation make comparison almost impossible. France is willing to eschew *le confortable* as we seldom have been. But even if we have neither the vocation, nor grace, to live like the Curé d'Ars, and have to *beg* for schools, new churches, parish halls—would to God we need not do it in the pulpit! Would that in each church-porch we would exhibit an exact statement of what income exists, what expenditure has been made, what more is needed (or even, desirable). We thank God for this very masculine, intimately sympathetic book.

Fr. Desplanques's book has for sub-title: "The Ordinary of the Mass . . . The Ordinary of Life." It is a purely devotional book, and does not argue for any particular way of offering Mass, but recognises that if I, priest or layman, offer but a mediocre Mass, I shall be but a mediocre Catholic. Certainly nothing mediocre would enable a man to live the sort of life asked by Fr. Michonneau from the priests he writes for, and Fr. Desplanques wishes us to live a life-long Mass. He takes us step by step on our way to church; and word by word leads us through the Liturgy, and without affected colloquialism unites the heavenly mystery of Mass with each work of our every-day lives. There is here no straining of the intellect, but a simple and lovely admission of Our Lord's life, death and resurrection into our hearts opened towards Him.

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*Lightning Meditations*, by Ronald Knox (Sheed and Ward 12s 6d).

READERS of *The Sunday Times* are aware that for more than twelve years Mgr. Knox contributed a short sermon to that paper every month. Some years ago he himself collected some seventy of these into a book which he called *Stimuli*. We are glad that Fr. Caraman has collected close on eighty more into this new volume.

Just as *Stimuli* were meant "to pierce the skin of your conscience," so this present volume contains matter for brief meditations on various truths, often enshrined in the Sunday Gospels. We shall find here all the familiar subtlety of thought combined with vividness of expression so characteristic of the writer. "The alms plate is an unpopular theme, in days when the Welfare State does so much of our charity for us." "Watching is not just keeping awake; it will not matter if the Day of Judgment finds us asleep in bed. What will matter is if it finds us sitting about in armchairs and telling one another the world is not worth saving." The Church's "officials are shepherds, not a Wool Marketing Board."

*Gospel Questions and Inquiries*, by Bernard Basset, S.J. (Sheed and Ward 8s 6d).

THESE two hundred and eighteen well-chosen, stimulating sets of questions on the New Testament from the Annunciation to Pentecost are designed to encourage prayer as well as to deepen knowledge of the Gospels. The book is attractively produced, small enough to fit into her handbag or his pocket for use during the day. The texts are printed in full but not marked in verses. This might present a difficulty but could equally be a further spur to the mental effort which the book is meant to provoke. It should be a real help to those who have an earnest desire to know and love Our Lord better.

*The West Indian Comes to England*, edited by S. K. Ruck for the Family Welfare Association (Routledge 25s).

THE WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANT is often seen in the major cities of England, particularly London. Much is heard of him. Very little, really, is known about him. Gossip and tales of his doings usually run to extremes as they did, for example, at the time of the Notting Hill troubles in the autumn of 1959. Now, the Family Welfare Association has placed us in its debt with this excellently arranged study of the West Indian migrant to Britain. He is considered primarily in his London surroundings and this is sound, for that is where he is for the most part to be found. But a further section of this most helpful book deals with his life in the three provincial cities of

Bristol, Nottingham and Liverpool. Its first two sections are concerned most usefully with the West Indian background from which the migrant comes and the problems surrounding his arrival in this country. They are well and thoughtfully written.

The book confirms the impression that, in the case of the West Indian migrant, housing and employment difficulties are made more severe than they need be. In the case of the West Indians, one notes with satisfaction that a great deal has been done by voluntary organisations to help them in general ways and to make the conditions of their life more tolerable.

One puts this book down with the thought that the problems surrounding the West Indian migrant to Britain, though difficult, are by no means insuperable. There is no reason why they should not be integrated happily into the community of this island. A clue towards future effort in his regard is given in a couple of sentences towards the end of this admirable and balanced study of a problem that is difficult, but by no means intractable: "As long as they (the West Indians) are in regular employment which provides a stable income, they are willing workers and are generally able to manage on their earnings, though their living standards are at the moment below English working-class standards. Where, however, there are long periods of unemployment, West Indians in particular quickly reach the stage where their morale becomes low and they tend to feel that the whole of organised society is against them." For the West Indians, more than the other inhabitants of this island, full employment remains essential to a human existence. It is much to Britain's credit that she has found jobs for so many who have come to her shores since the war.

*Political Thought: Men and Ideas*, by John A. Abbo (Newman Press \$5.75).

IT WOULD BE a bad thing if men were brought up on condensations like that represented by the volume under review. To say so is neither to denigrate its contents nor belittle the work that has gone into it. It must have been very considerable indeed.

We believe Mgr. Abbo would agree with us that *Political Thought* is best regarded as a work of reference. As such, it will serve extremely well the student who comes to it with a sound knowledge of the basic principles of Catholic political theory already firmly fixed in his head. The ground covered is from the political thinking of ancient Greece and Rome to that of the Roosevelt era in the United States. The whole covers four-hundred and fifty pages. There are excellent bibliographies at the end of each section.

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ONE of the great occupational risks of business life under the pressure of to-day is that the practical man of affairs neglects his outside reading, and all too easily falls into a narrow circle of immediate preoccupations. There is always loss in this, and the Catholic business or professional man, as a member of the Church Universal, has a particularly strong reason for keeping his mind open to wider horizons. Certainly it was never more necessary than now to follow world happenings. A direct chain of causes and effects ties every business to economical changes in the world, which are themselves as often the consequence as the cause of changes in men's political and social ideas. These ideas in their turn come out of the religions, or irreligions, of contemporary man.

In many countries the Catholic Church is at the heart of the battle of ideas. Cardinal Manning's saying that "all great quarrels between men are at bottom theological" suggests that there is, in fact, no better starting-point or background for understanding the modern world than a Catholic one. Because of this approach and background

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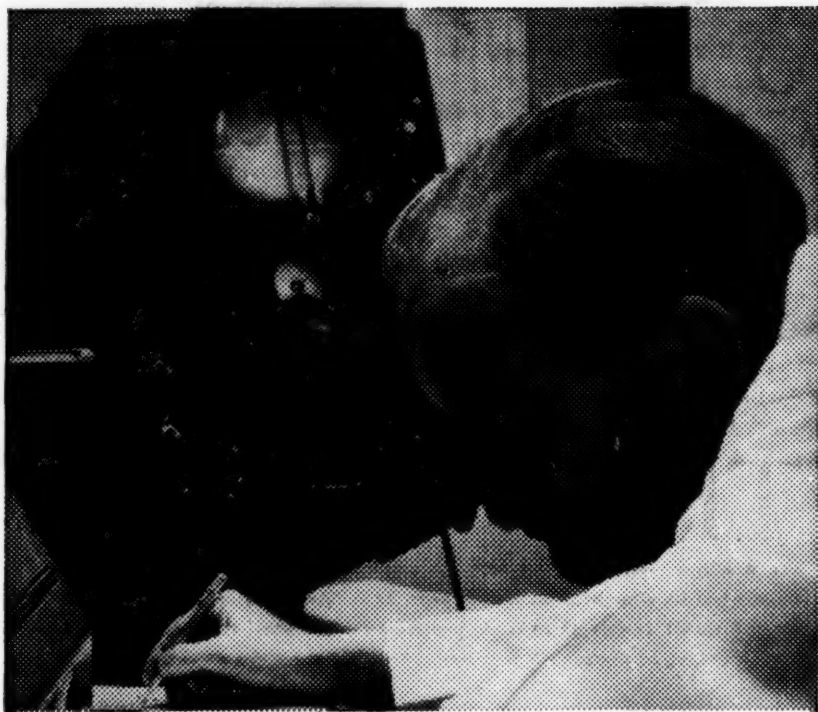
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